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SUPPLEMENTARY OBSERVATIONS ON TIGRÉ GRAMMAR

WOLF LESLAU

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The elements of Tigré grammar were dealt with by me in two articles, "The Verb in Tigré" and "Grammatical sketches in Tigré" published in *JAOS* 65 (1945). 1-26, 164-203. Both these articles were combined in the offprint series of *JAOS* under the title of a *Short grammar of Tigré*. This grammar dealt with the dialect of Mensa, spoken in the region of Keren in Eritrea, and was based on Littmann's Tigré texts.[1] As pointed out in several passages of the above mentioned articles, these texts do not supply all forms, and, therefore, many points had to be presented in incomplete form. I was able to supplement the material during a stay of ten months in Ethiopia under the auspices of the Guggenheim Foundation and the Viking Fund. A part of the research work was devoted to the study of Tigré. In fact, I spent a month in Eritrea, mostly in Keren where the Tigré dialect of Mensa is spoken. I was greatly helped in my investigation by several natives of Keren, particularly by Mikael Ḥasama, an intelligent young man, who besides Tigré, his native tongue, spoke Tigriña, Amharic and English. Thanks to his endurance and his ability to understand problems of grammar and vocabulary, I was able to reexamine the vocabulary of Tigré which I had brought together from previously published works, to collect some texts on Tigré games, and to supplement our knowledge of the grammar of Tigré. The present article is the result of this grammatical investigation and is meant as a supplement to the *Short grammar of Tigré*. I would have liked to investigate other dialects of Tigré, such as the one spoken by the Beni Amer, Ḥabab, in Massawa, on the islands of Dahlak, and others, but my time was too limited. This still remains to be done.

In this article, *Verb* refers to my article "The Verb in Tigré" in *JAOS* 65 (1945). 1-26; *Sketches* refers to "Grammatical sketches in Tigré," *ib.* 164-203.

[1] *Publications of the Princeton Expedition to Abyssinia*, 4 vol. 1910-13.

PHONOLOGY

§ 1. Consonants

The glottalized *q* in a closed syllable is pronounced as glottalized fricative *q̄*: *'aq̄-bər* "graves," *'aq̄-bäla* "to return," *mäq̄-däd* "bone of the vertebra."[2] In intervocalic position it remains *q*: *təqäbbər* "she buries," *təqabäla* "to meet."

§ 2. Vowels

a) To the vowels given in *Sketches* § 1, add the vowel *q̈* (an open *ä*): *malq̈* "yesterday," *bäkkq̈* "he cries," *särgq̈* "he adorns," and so on; see especially § 43, 48.

b) There are both a short and a long *a*. The length contrast often has a semantic or grammatical value. Thus *'afa* "to look at": *'āfa* "to heal"; *'agna* "to bend a stick": *'āgäna* "to bend several times"; *hab* "give": *hāb* "heat"; *tə'ayyära* "to be insulted": *tə'āyära* "to insult"; *ḥal* "maternal aunt" (probably from **ḥalt*): *ḥāl* "maternal uncle"; *ḥamsay* "brownish yellow": *ḥāmsay* "fifth."

c) The vowel *u* can also be short and long; thus, for instance, the *u* of the passive participle *qətūl* is always long.

§ 3. Consonants and Vowels

a) The laryngals *'* and *h* can be pronounced with the vowel *ä* and are not restricted to occurrence with *a* as is the case in some other Ethiopic languages: *rä'äs* "head," *wä'ät* "cow," *dähäb* "gold," *gähär* "charcoal," *'ägmud* "ropes." Grammatical contrast is evident in *gähäy* "sadness," but *gähay* "sad." The suffixed pronoun of the 3rd person plural is *-hän* rather than *-han* (*Sketches* § 46).

b) An expected *ə* sounds *i* before *'*: *maṣi'* "who comes" (as opposed to *fagər*), *gäbbi'* "he becomes" (as opposed to *fägger*).

[2] *q* is also spirantized into *q̄* in Tigrina in intervocalic and postvocalic position (Leslau, *Documents Tigrigna* §7c, and *Word* 1 (1945). 64).

§ 4. Gemination

The phonemes *w* and *y* are geminated (not as in *Sketches* § 2d) although often only slightly noticeable: *qäyəḥ* "red," but fem. *qäyyaḥ*; *hayyäfa* "to be mistaken"; [3] *ḥawwäka* "to trouble"; *ḥawwäna* "to become weak"; *ḥawwäza* "to be fat." See especially verbs with 2nd radical *w, y* (§ 41-2).

§ 5. Prepalatalization

The following phonemes are prepalatalized when connected with the suffixed pronoun of the 1st person singular *-yä*; the prepalatal is geminated, often only slightly noticeable:

t > *č*: *'əččä* "to me," from *'ət*;
ṭ > *č̣*: *səməč̣č̣ä* "near me," from *səməṭ*;
s > *š*: *rä'äššä* "my head," from *rä'äs*;
d > *ǧ*: *wəlaǧǧä* "my sons," from *wəlad* (not *wəlaǧe* as in *Sketches* § 3a);
l > *y*: *'əyyä* "to me" or "for me" for *'əlyä*, from *'əl*; *'əgəyyä* beside *'əgəlyä* "to me" or "for me" from *'əgəl*. Note, however, that where *-lyä* occurs beside *-leyä* in some of the prepositions (see § 8), *-lyä* remains without prepalatalization of *l*: *'əmbälyä* and *'əmbäleyä* "without me," *kəmsälyä* and *kəmsäleyä* "like me."

§ 6. Assimilation

a) The assimilation of the consonants *b, t* in the prepositions *'əb, 'ət* to the glottal stop of *'əlli* "this" is optional. One finds thus *'əbbəlli, 'əttəlli* beside *'əb 'əlli, 'ət 'əlli* "in this."

b) The final *l* of the preposition *'əl* can be assimilated to the initial *-k* of 2nd person suffix pronouns: *'əlka* and *'əkka* "to you," fem. *'əlki* and *'əkki*, pl. masc. *'əlkum* and *'əkkum*, fem. *'əlkən* and *'əkkən*.

c) The *t* of the prefix *'at-* (*Verb* § 11) can be assimilated to the 1st radical of the verb regardless of what the consonant may be: *'atbagäsa* and *'abbagäsa* "accompany to a certain place," *'atqatäla* and *'aqqatäla* "help to kill."

§ 7. Metathesis

a) Transposition of the *y* and the final vowel generally takes place in all the verbs 3rd radical *w, y*, like *təsäyta* for *təsätya* "you drink," and not only in some of the verbs as mentioned in *Verb* § 25*β*. This metathesis is, however, optional; thus *təsätya* occurs beside *təsäyta*.

b) Similarly, optional metathesis of laryngal and vowel occurs in all the verbs 3rd radical laryngal. Thus *sämmu'* beside *sämmə'u* "they listen."

§ 8. Connecting vowel

Some of the prepositions are connected with the suffixed pronouns by the means of the vowel *e*, but this connecting vowel is optional. Thus from *'əmbäl* "without" one forms *'əmbäleyä* or *'əmbälyä* "without me," *'əmbälehu* or *'əmbälhu* "without him"; from *kəmsäl* "like" are made *kəmsäleyä* or *kəmsälyä, kəmsäleka* or *kəmsälka*, and so on.

§ 9. Glide-consonant

In the expression *mən dəlli* "from this," *mən dəlli wäḥar* "from this time on," *mən daya* "from where?", *d* seems to be a glide-consonant, the original forms being *mən 'əlli* (> **mənəlli*), *mən 'aya* (> **mənaya*). [3a]

§ 10. Contraction

The phoneme *w* disappears by contraction with the preceding vowel in some of the nouns derived from verbs 1st radical *w*: *mäḥaz* "river" (for **mäwḥaz*), from *wäḥza* "to flow"; *mətəd* "peg" (for **məwtəd*), from *wåtda*.

§ 11. Consonantal cluster

a) Tigré avoids consonantal clusters. We obtain thus only forms like *qätəl, qətəl* (with *ə* between the 2nd and the 3rd radicals). Very often *Cət* is simplified into *C*. [4] Thus besides the plural *'aqtələt* one finds *'aqtəl*: *'ab'əs* "husbands," *'ar'əs* "heads." In the same way, the feminine of *qətul, qəttul* is *qətəl, qəttəl* beside *qətlət, qəttələt*: *ləbus* "dressed": fem. *ləbəs* and *ləbsət*; *wəssuk* "added": fem. *wəssək* and *wəssəkət*.

b) To the words which omit final *t* (*Sketches* § 8), add: *rəs* "heritage, land" for **rəst* (root *wrs*); *ḥan* "below" and also *ḥant-e*; plural *näggäs* "kings" for **näggäst*, pl. of *nəgus*.

[3] *Sketches* note 6 has to be corrected.

[3a] For some glide-consonants in Semitic, see Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, 1. 280.

[4] C = consonant.

NOUN

§ 12. Nominal forms with *-o*

The ending *-o* added to a reduplicated noun gives a reference to the "color or taste of." The last radical is geminated: *maymayyo* "that which has the taste of water" (from *may*); *mä'ar mä'arro* "that which has the taste of honey" (from *mä'ar* "honey"); *sä'ar sä'arro* "that which has the color of green grass" (from *sä'ar* "grass").

§ 13. Form *qatəl*

The form *qatəl* can be used as an adjective with the value of the passive *qətul*: *ṭabəs* and *ṭəbus* "wet."

§ 14. Active participle

a) The active participle of the type A (*Verb* § 1) has the form *qatlay* (*Verb* § 7aα), and *qetlay*[5]: *ragmay* and *regmay* "he who curses," *warsay* and *wersay* "heir."

b) The form of the active participle of verbs 2nd radical laryngal is *qətlay*: *ləḥsay* "he who licks."

c) The active participle of type B (*Verb* § 2) is *mäqatlay*: *mäharmay* "he who weeds" (from *harräma*).

§ 15. Passive participle

a) The passive participle of the triliteral verb is:

of type A: *qətūl*, fem. *qətlət* or *qətəl*: *dəfūn* "filled up," fem. *dəfnət* or *dəfən*;

of type B: *qəttūl*, fem. *qəttələt* or *qəttəl*: *wəssūk* "added," fem. *wəssəkət* or *wəssək*;

of type C: *qutūl*,[6] fem. *qutlət*: *burūk* "blessed," fem. *burkət*.

b) The passive participle of the quadriliteral is:

of type A: *qərtūl*: *nəznūz* "shaken," from *näznäza* "to shake";

of type C: *qərutūl*: *nəzunūz* "shaken several times," from *näzanäza*.

c) The passive participle of verbs with the vowel *e* after the 1st radical (type *mezäna, čefa*) has the vowel *i* after the 1st radical; that of verbs with the vowel *o* after the 1st radical (type *qoqäla, gola*) has the vowel *u* after the 1st radical.

Thus from *mezäna* "to weigh" the passive participle is *mizūn*, fem. *mīznət* and also *məznət*.

From *čefa* "to make a thick soup": *čifūy*; from *ḥega* "to give protection": *ḥigūy*.

From *qoqäla* "to scratch": *quqūl*; from *goläla* "to separate: *gulūl*.

From *gola* "to danse and sing": *gulūy*.

d) A passive participle formed directly from the causative form is *'əgḥus* "uncovered" from *'agḥasa* "to uncover."[7]

§ 17. Infinitive and noun of action

a) The infinitive of verbs of type B is *məqəttal*:[8] *məkəmmar* "to pile up" from *kämmära*; *məḥəmmad* "to praise" from *ḥammäda*; *məfəddab* "to excel" from *fäddäba*.

The infinitive *qätil* or *qättil* does not seem to exist for type B.

b) The infinitive and noun of action of types B, C and of derived stems can also end in *-ot*[9]: *däkkälot* from *däkkäla* "to ask for peace"; *därräkot* from *därräka* "to push"; *ḥafänot* from *ḥafäna* "to boil"; *'attäl'akot* from *'attäl'aka* "to entrust something to someone" (causative with prefix *'attä-* from *l'k*). Type A does not form the infinitive with *-ot*.

§ 18. Plural

a) The plural of certain nouns is *'aqtələt* (not *'aqtəlt* as in *Sketches* § 27c), but also *'aqtəl* to avoid the combination *Cət* (see § 11a). Thus *'ab'əs*, from *bə'əs* "husband," *'ar'əs* from *rä'äs* "head."

b) The plural of *Sketches* § 27d should be *'aqatələt*, thus *'abaṣəḥət* from *baṣəḥ* "youth"; and of § 27e it should be *'aqättələt*, thus *'afärrə'ət* from *färä'* "branch," *'awärrəḥət* from *wärəḥ* "month," *'azännəbət* from *zänäb* "tail."

c) The plural of *Sketches* § 27f should be *'aqətlät*, not *'aqtəlät*. Thus *'asəgdät* from *səgad*

[5] Littmann in *Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto Universitario di Napoli. Annali.* Nuova Serie, vol. 2 (1943). 100, considers *qetlay* as diminutive.

[6] Like Geez *buruk, sutuf* (Dillmann-Chrichton, *Ethiopic Grammar*, p. 236).

[7] For similar formation in the other Ethiopic languages, cp. Geez *'əstərkub, 'əstəgbu'* (Dillmann-Crichton, ib. 236), Tña. *'əstə'mur* (Leslau, *Doc. Tigrigna* §131, and Polotsky, *JAOS* 67. 148).

[8] Like in Tigriña.

[9] Ancien Harari (Cerulli, *Studi etiopici* 1. 361-2), Tchaha (Gouragué) and Geez form the infinitive with *-ot* from the simple and the derived stems.

"neck," *'asərkät* from *sərak* "sandalstrap," and so on.

d) The form *rärayəm* (not *räräyəm* as in *Sketches* § 13k) is the plural of *räyəm* "large" and is not an intensive singular formed by repetition of the 1st radical.[10]

e) The plural of *qatəl* is *qatlam*, fem. sg. *qatlät*, fem. pl. *qatlat*: *kabər* "honored," fem. *kabrät*, pl. masc. *kabram*, fem. *kabrat*.

f) The plural of *qätal*, fem. *qätalit*, is *qätlät*, for both masculine and feminine: *käram* "who cuts," fem. *käramit*, pl. masc. fem. *kärmät*.

g) Some nouns form the singular and plural from different roots: sg. *'əssit* "woman": pl. *'anəs* (*Sketches* § 23j); *gämäl* "he-camel," *nä'at* "she-camel": pl. *'ənsa*; *'ənas* "man," *bä'al* "proprietor": pl. *säb*.

§ 19. Gender

The feminine of the passive participle of type A *qətūl* is *qətlət* and *qətəl*; for type B *qəttūl* it is *qəttələt* and *qəttəl* (see § 11a); for the quadriliteral *qərtūl* it is *qərtələt* and *qərtəl*. Thus *ləbūs* "dressed": *ləbsət* and *ləbəs*; *sərūq* "stolen": *sərqət* and *sərəq*; *bəšūl* "cooked": *bəšlət* and *bəšəl*; *wəssūk* "added": *wəssəkət* and *wəssək*; *ḥəmmūd* "praised": *ḥəmmədət* and *ḥəmməd*; *nəsnūs* "sprinkled": *nəsnəsət* and *nəsnəs*.

§ 20. Article

The demonstrative element *lä-*, which serves as definite article (*Sketches* § 38), is very often pronounced *la-*, thus *lakokäb lawådqät* "the star which fell."

In the speech of one informant, this element is pronounced with the preceding word rather than with the word to which it applies: *'əgəl-la sälās 'əssitu habäyyän* "he gave it to his three wives."

§ 21. Direct complement

If the direct complement is a pronoun it is indicated by *'əl-* with the suffixed pronouns, but also with *'əgəl*: *'əlka* or *'əgəlka ḥazẓ̣ halla* "does he want you?".

PRONOUN

§ 22. Reciprocal pronoun

The pronoun of reciprocity is expressed by *ḥəd* and *'ad ḥəd* (not *'ad ḥəd*, as in *Sketches* § 45a; correct also note 107).

§ 23. Suffixed pronouns

The suffixed pronouns of the noun meaning "son" are attached to the root *wl*, *wd* or *wld*:

	Singular	Plural
1st	*wålye* or *wåğğä* (from *wåd* with prepalatization of *d*, see § 5)	*wålna* or *wådna*
2nd masc.	*wålka* or *wådka*	*wålkum* or *wådkum*
2nd fem.	*wålki* or *wådki*	*wålkən* or *wådkən*
3rd masc.	*wåldu*	*wåldom*
3rd fem.	*wålda*	*wåldän*

The plural *wəlağ* "sons" with the suffixed pronoun of the 1st person is *wəlağğä* "my sons" (not *wəlağe*, as in *Sketches* § 3a).

For the combination of the suffixed pronoun 1st person with nouns ending in *t*, *ṭ*, *s*, *d*, *l*, see § 5.

Note *'ənčä* "my eye" from *'ən*.

§ 24. Demonstrative pronoun

a) The demonstrative pronoun can be preposed and postposed at the same time:[11]

'əlli ḥəṣan 'əlli "this boy";
'əlla bet 'əlla "this house";
'əllom wəlad 'əllom "these boys";
'əllän 'abyat 'əllän "these houses."

For distant objects: *lohe ḥəṣan lohe* "that boy."

b) The demonstrative pronouns also have diminutive forms: *'əlli* "this": dim *'əllitay*; fem. *'əlla*: dim. *'əlletat*; *lohay* "that": dim. *lohetay*; fem. *loha*: dim. *lohatit*.[12]

NUMERALS

§ 25. Cardinal and ordinal numerals

Some corrections to the numerals of *Sketches* § 57: *ḥaməs* "five"; *säman* "eight"; *sälasa* "thirty"; *ḥəmsa* "fifty"; *səssa* "sixty."

Ordinals: *säləf* or *qädam* "first." Ordinal numbers also have the form *qātlay* with long *ā*.

[10] Leslau, in *Word* 1. 69.

[11] Leslau, *Word* 1. 78.

[12] Littmann, op. cit. p. 100.

COUPLA, VERB OF EXISTENCE AND OF POSSESSION

§ 26. Copula

a) The copula is *tu, ta, tom, tän* (*Sketches* § 55). In a conditional sentence, the copula is expressed by the imperfect of the verb *gäb'a* "to become, to be" preceded by *mən*: *ṣəgub mən 'əgäbbə'* "if I am rich" (originally "If I become rich"); *ṣəgub mən təgäbbi'* "if you are rich." For the 3rd person feminine, the fossilized form *gäbbi'* or the feminine *təgäbbi'* can be used: *ṣəgbət mən gäbbi'* or *təgäbbi'* "if she is rich."

b) The negative copula is *'ikon* (composed of the negation *'i-* and the fossilized form *kon*, from *kona* "to be") for the 3rd person, masc. fem., sg. and plural; the other persons are expressed by the negative *'i-* and the personal pronouns.

Singular	Plural
3rd masc. *'ikon* "he is not"	*'ikon* "they are not"
3rd fem. *'ikon*	*'ikon*
2nd masc. *'i'ənta* "you are not"	*'i'əntum*
2nd fem. *'i'ənti*	*'i'əntən*
1st com. *'i'ana*	*'iḥəna*

The relative copula in the negative is *lə'ikon* (relative *lə* for *la*, and *'ikon*) or *lə'igäb'a* (relative *lə* for *la*, and *'igäb'a* negative of *gäb'a* "to become"): *läfädab lə'igäb'a* or *fädab* (or *läfädab*) *lə'ikon* "he who is not courageous."

c) The verb of quality "to be" in the past is expressed by *'ala* "he was":[13] *'abi 'ala* "he was big"; in the negative it is expressed by *'i'ala* (negative *'i-* and *'ala*): *'abi 'i'ala* "he was not big"; in the relative positive by *lä'ala*: *fädab lä'ala* "he who was courageous"; in the negative by *lä'i'ala*: *fädab lä'i'ala* "he who was not courageous."

d) The future of the verb of quality "to be" is expressed by *'əgəl ləgba' tu* "he will be" (*'əgəl* is a conjunction, see *Sketches* § 60b, *ləgba'* is the jussive of *gäb'a* "to be," *tu* is the copula; for the whole combination, see § 30). Example: *hətu 'amäta ṣəgub ləgba' tu* "he will be rich next year."

The negative is expressed by *'əgəl ləgba' 'ikon* "he will not" (for *'ikon* see above).

[13] For *'ala*, see *Verb* §31; *'ala* also serves to express existence (*Sketches* §56aγ).

§ 27. Verb of possession

a) Possession in the present is expressed by *b-* with suffixed pronouns or by *halla 'əl-* with suffixed pronouns (*halla* "there is," *'əl* "to, for").

Singular

1st com. *bəyä* or *halla 'əyyä* "I have"
2nd masc. *bəka* or *halla 'əlka* or *'əkka* (§ 6b)
2nd fem. *bəki* or *halla 'əlki* or *'əkki*
3rd masc. *bu* or *halla 'əlu*
3rd fem. *ba* or *halla 'əla*

Plural

1st com. *bəna* or *halla 'əlna*
2nd masc. *bəkum* or *halla 'əlkum* or *'əkkum*
2nd fem. *bəkən* or *halla 'əlkən* or *'əkkən*
3rd masc. *bom* or *halla 'əlom*
3rd fem. *bän* or *halla 'əlän*

The negative of possession is expressed by *'aläb-* (negative *'al* and *b-*, see above) or by *'ihalla 'əl-* with suffixed pronouns: *'aläbəyä* or *'ihalla 'əlyä* "I have not."

b) In the relative positive, possession is expressed by *b-* with suffixed pronouns and the relative element *lä-* attached to the direct complement: *läbet lä'əlu bəyä* "the house which I have" (literally "the house/ which it/ I have," *lä'əlu* is composed of the relative *lä-* and *'əlu* representing the element *'əl*, sign of the direct complement, and the suffix of the 3rd person *-u* "it").

In the relative negative, the same construction is used with the negative verb *'aläb-* with suffixed pronouns: *läbet lä'əlu 'aläbəyä* "the house which I do not have."

c) Possession in the past is expressed by *'ala 'əl-* with suffixed pronouns (*'ala* "it was, he was," *'əl* "to, for"): *'ala 'əlyä* "I had"; negative *'i'ala 'əlyä* "I did not have." If the possessed object is a feminine or a plural, the verb *'ala* takes the form of the feminine (*'alet*) or of the plural (*'aläw*, fem. *'aläya*).

d) In the unreal condition, *mən ləw'əl 'əl-* with suffixed pronouns is used (*mən* is a conjunction, *ləw'əl* is the imperfect of *'ala* "it was," *'əl* "to, for"): *därhəm mən ləw'əl 'əyyä läbet wäzabeko 'alko* "if I had money I would have bought the house."

VERB

§ 28. Perfect

Contrary to the assertion made in *Verb* § 16, the final vowel of the verb in the perfect is *a* and not *ä*. The form is thus *fägra*. It has to be noted that the first vowel may optionally also be *a*, and the form of the perfect is thus *fagra* or *fägra*. In other persons, too, forms like *dafanka* "you (masc.) covered" beside *däfänki* "you (fem.) covered" are used.

§ 29. Imperfect and jussive

a) The 3rd person sg. and pl. are most often used without the element *lə-* (*Verb* § 5a), the forms being thus *fägger* "he goes out," *fägro* "they go out." The element *lə-* is always used when the verb is preceded by a conjunction: *'ət ləfäggər* "when he goes out."

b) The forms of the imperfect of type B are as following:

Singular	Plural
3rd masc. *fäddəb* "he excels"	*fädbo*
3rd fem. *təfäddəb*	*fädba* or *fadba*
2nd masc. *təfäddab*	*təfädbo*
2nd fem. *təfädbi*	*təfädba* or *təfadba*
1st com. *'əfäddəb*	*'ənfäddəb*

Surprisingly the forms with suffixes (sg. 2nd fem.; pl. 3rd masc. fem.; 2nd masc. fem.) have no gemination of the 2nd radical, which is contrary to what we know of the other Ethiopic languages. Note that the vowel of the 1st radical in the plural, 3rd and 2nd fem. is *ä* or *a*.

The jussive of type B is the same as the imperfect.

§ 30. Future

The normal expression of the future in the positive is *'əgəl* "in order that" + jussive + *tu*: *'əgəl ləfgär tu* "he shall go out." The negation is expressed by *'əgəl* + jussive + *'ikon* (see § 26b) or by the negative imperfect: *'əgəl ləfgär 'ikon* or *'ifäggər* "he will not go out."

§ 31. Conative type (Type C)

a) Beside the meaning of the conative type given in *Verb* § 3, the normal meaning of this type is frequentative. Thus *zabṭa* "to hit," type C *zabaṭa* (or *zabäṭa*) "hit several times or several persons"; *gärba* "to cut," but *garäba* "cut into several pieces"; *'athayäba* "cause to give" (from *haba* "to give," *Verb* § 27), but *'athāyäba* "cause to give several times."

The same meaning is also expressed by the frequentative stem (§ 32).

b) The conative form seems to have causative meaning in *ḥāfäna* "to make boil" from *ḥafna* "to boil (water)," but the form *ḥāfäna* is perhaps for an original **'aḥfäna*.[14] Gemination or non-gemination of the 2nd radical in the imperfect would prove whether it is from the conative type (the 2nd radical would be simple in this case) or from the causative stem (the 2nd radical would be geminated), but I did not record the imperfect form.

DERIVED STEMS

§ 32. Frequentative stem

Frequentative meaning is expressed either by the conative type *qatäla* (see § 31), or by the type *qätatäla* (*Verb* § 8).

The forms of the type *qätatäla* for the various types of verbs are the following:

Triliteral, type A, from *säbra*: *säbabära*;
Type B, from *fättäna*: *fätatäna* (without gemination of the 2nd radical);
1st radical laryngal, from *ḥarsa*: *ḥararäsa*;
2nd radical laryngal, from *maḥla*: *mäḥaḥala*;
3rd radical laryngal, from *säm'a*: *sämama'a*;
1st radical *w*, from *wâlda*: *wâlaläda*;
2nd radical *w*, from *ṣora*: *ṣäwawära*;
2nd radical *y*, from *keda*: *käyayäda*;
3rd radical *w*, *y*, from *säka*: *säkaka*; from *wâda*: *wâdada*;
from *haba*: *hayayäba*;
from *bela*: *bähahala*;
from type *mezäna*: *mezazäna*;
from type *goläla*: *gäwaläla*;
from type *gola* (root *gwly*): *gäwala*.

With the quadriliterals, type C is used to express frequentative action. Thus from *däṅgäṣa*: *däṅagäṣa*; from *särga*: *säraga*.

STEMS WITH PREFIXES

§ 33. Prefix *tə-*

(Reflexive-passive stem)

The prefix *t-* does not occur as such in normal speech; instead the 1st radical of the verb is

[14] Nöldeke, ZA 24. 288, and *Verb*, note 91.

slightly geminated: *ᵏkäffäla* "to be divided," *ᵇbaräka* "to be blessed" (see also *Verb* § 9aα).

§ 34. Prefix *'at-*

(Causative-reciprocal, adjutative, causative stem)

The *t* of *'at-* can be assimilated to any 1st radical. Thus *'atbagäsa* and *'abbagäsa* "to accompany to a certain place," *'atqatäla* and *'aqqatäla* "to help to kill."

The stem with prefix *'at-* of verbs of type B or of verbs which occur with the prefix *tə-* only (*Verb* § 9aγ) is formed from the geminated stem. Thus *təbäggäsa* "to leave": *'atbäggäsa* "to cause to leave"; *təbäkkära* "to bring forth the first calf": *'atbäkkära* (or *'abbäkkära*) "to cause . . ."

§ 35. Prefix *'attä-*

(Causative, factitive stem)

The stem with prefix *'attä-* (*Verb* § 12) seems to exist for type A only, and not for types B and C. The causative and factitive of types B and C are expressed by the prefix *'at-*.

The prefix *'attä-* also serves to express the causative of verbs with *'an-* (*Verb* § 13). Thus from *'angärgära* "to wallow": causative *'attängärgära*; from *'anṣärṣära* "to complain": causative *'attänṣärṣära*.

§ 36. Prefix *'as-*

To the few examples of the verbs with prefix *'as-* (*Verb* § 14), add: *'as-qämqäma* "to be cross."

§ 37. Prefix *'astä-*

To the few loan-words from Arabic with prefix *'astä-* (*Verb* § 15), add: *'astänkära* "to wonder," *'astärräḥa* "to become glad."

Verbs with Laryngals

§ 38. Verbs 1st radical laryngal

a) The jussive of the 1st person singular, of the type B is *ʔattəl*:[15] *ḥammәd* "may I praise," *'abbər* "may I become old." For the same form of type A, see *Verb* § 17b.

b) The causative of verbs 1st radical laryngal is formed with the prefix *'at-*, and not *'a-*.[16]

From type A: *'at-'asära* "to cause to attach," *'at-'aqäba* "to cause to guard," *'at-ḥaläba* "to cause to milk."

From type B: *'at-'abbära* "to make old," *'at-ḥammäda* "to cause to praise."

From type C: *'at-ḥäkära* "to cause to wound," *'at-'äsära* "to follow the traces."

§ 39. Verbs 2nd radical laryngal

a) The form of the perfect is *la'aka* rather than *lä'aka* (*Verb* § 18). The form of the jussive is: *ləl'ak* or *ləl'äk* (for the vowel *ä*, see § 3a); imper. *lə'äk* or *lä'ak*.

b) Stem with prefix *tə-*

Perf. *tәlä'aka*; impft. juss. *lətlä'äk*; imper. *tәlä'äk*.

Stem with prefix *'a-*

Perf. *'al'aka*; impft. juss. *läl'ək*; imper. *'al'ək*.

Stem with prefix *'at-*

Perf. *'atla'aka* or *'atlä'aka*; imperf. juss. *lätlə'ək*; imper. *'atlə'ək*.

The stem with prefix *'attä-* does not seem to exist.

§ 40. Verbs 3rd radical laryngal

a) Some corrections to the verbs of type C (*Verb* § 19a, p. 17): "shave" is *šarə'a* (not *šar'a*); "to clap hands" is *'aṭaqə'a* (not *ṭaq'a*); "to become fat" is *'arğə'a* (not *rağ'a*).

In the plural 3rd person, imperfect, jussive and imperative, the laryngal can be transposed or not. Imperfect *sämmu'* or *sämmə'u* "they hear"; jussive *ləsmu'* or *ləsmə'u* "may they hear"; imper. *səmu'* or *səm'u* "hear."

Verbs with *w*, *y*

§ 41. Verbs with 2nd radical *w*

a) The imperfect of some verbs has *w* or *y*: *ṣäwəm* or *ṣäyəm* "he fasts" from *ṣoma*.

The nature of geminated *w* is such that it was not consistently recorded. Thus *mäwwäna* "he fed," but *mäw(w)ən* "he feeds."[17]

b) The conjugation of *bä'a* "to enter" is as follows:

Impft. *yəbäyə'*; juss. *liba'* or *libya'*; imper. *ba'* or *bəya'*, fem. *bə'i* or *bi'*, pl. masc. *bu'* or *bə'u*, fem. *ba'a*.

c) Stem with prefix *tə-*

[15] ʔ designates any laryngal.

[16] The forms for **aḥdäsa* "to renew" (*Verb* §17d) are in fact for *ḥaddäsa* (type B); impft. juss. *lāḥaddəs*.

[17] Not *mona* as in *Verb* §24a.

Type C. As in the simple stem, some verbs have *w*, others *y* as 2nd radical. As stated in *Verb* § 24d, the verb *mota* "to die" is *təmayäta* with *y*. Verbs with *w* are: *təṣawära* "he was carried several times," *təlawäša* "to hide"; impft. juss. *ləṣṣawär, lətlawäš*; imper. *təṣawär, təlawäš*.

Stem with prefix *'a-*

With *w* as 2nd radical: *'adora* "to turn around"; impft. *lädäwər*; juss. *lädur*; imper. *'adur*.

With *y* as 2nd radical: *'amota* "to cause to die"; impft. *lämäyət*; juss. *lämit*; imper. *'amit*.

Type B. Perf. *'akäwwäla* "to cause to hide"; impft. juss. *läkäw(w)əl*; imper. *'akäw(w)əl*.

Stem with prefix *'at-*

Verb with *w* as 2nd radical: *'aṣṣawära* (*Verb* § 24f). With *y* as 2nd radical: *'atmayäta* (from *mota* "to die"); impft. juss. *lätmayət*; imper. *'atmayət*. The same for *'atbaya'a* "to help to come," *'aṣṣayäma* "to cause to fast."

§ 42. Verbs with 2nd radical *y*

a) Stem with prefix *'a-*

Type A. Perfect *'abeta* "to cause to pass the night without eating"; impft. *läbäyət*; juss. *läbit*; imper. *'abit*.

The verb *'alela* "to recognize" is wrongly given in *Verb* § 23c as belonging to this type of verbs. It is actually of the type *lyly*, for which see *Verb* § 37 and here § 51.

Type B. *'akäy(y)äla* "to cause to measure"; impft. juss. *läkäyəl*; imper. *'akäyəl*.

b) Stem with prefix *'at-*

Type B. Perf. *'atkayäla* "to help measure"; impft. juss. *lätkayəl*; imper. *'atkayəl*.

§ 43. Verbs with 3rd radical *w, y*

a) Add some verbs with 1st radical laryngal and 3rd radical *w, y*, to those given in *Verb* § 25: *'aka* "to be bad," *'ata* "to go in," *'ada* "to pay," *'afa* "to observe," *'ala* "to flee," *'asa* "to revolt."

Type B: *'adda* "to visit a sick person," *'akka* "to become strong."

Type C: *'āfa* "to heal."

b) The imperfect of the verbs 3rd radical *w, y*, ends with *ä̤* (open *ä*): *bäkkä̤* "he cries," *sättä̤* "he drinks." This is also the ending of the verbs 1. 2. 3. *y* (*Verb* § 34): *särgä̤* "he orns."

§ 44. Verbs 1. 1. 3

There are verbs which have the same 1st and 2nd radical. Such verbs are: *tə-sässə'a* "to dance," *tə-lällə'a* "to be overheated," *tata* "guide a child with the hand" (type C of the root *tty*). They are conjugated as ordinary verbs (biliteral or triliteral), but have a special interest from the etymological point of view. They probably come from original 1. 2. 1. 2.

Irregular Verbs

§ 45. *ḥada* "be diminished, scarce," *ḥaṭa* "to swallow"

The forms of the perfect are also *wåḥada, wåḥaṭa*. Impft. *lŭwḥəd, lŭwḥəṭ* (for the verbs 2nd radical laryngal, see *Verb* § 18); juss. *läḥad, läḥaṭ*; imper. *ḥad, ḥaṭ*.

Stem with prefix *tə-*

Perf. *təwåḥaṭa*; impft. juss. *lətwåḥaṭ*; imper. *təwåḥaṭ*.

Stem with prefix *'a-*

Perf. *'awḥada*; impft. juss. *läwḥəd*; imper. *'awḥəd*.

Stem with prefix *'at-*

Perf. *'atwəḥada*; impft. juss. *lätwəḥəd*; imper. *'atwəḥəd*.

§ 46. *bela* "to say"

Its root is *bhl*.

Perfect, Singular	Plural
3rd masc. *bela*	*belåw*
3rd fem. *belät*	*beläya*
2nd masc. *telka* or *təbä̤*	*telkum* or *təbåw*
2nd fem. *telki* or *təbäy*	*telkən* or *təbäya*
1st com. *'əbä̤*	*'ənbä̤*

The forms of the 2nd person with the basis *tel-* are hybrid forms: the prefix *t-* is of the imperfect, the suffixes *-ka, -ki, -kum, -kən* are of the perfect. The basis *tel-* (with *e*) can be explained as coming from **təbəl* with disappearance of *b*. The other forms of the 2nd person and those of the 1st person are forms of the imperfect with disappearance of *l*, but curiously the suffixes are those of the jussive of verbs 3rd radical *w, y* (*Verb* § 25bγ). The endings of the 2nd person plural might, however, also be influenced by those of the 3rd person plural.

Stem with prefix *'at-*

Perf. *'atbela* or *'atbähala*; impft. juss. *lätbəl* or *lätbəhəl*; imper. *'atbəl* or *'atbəhəl*.

PLURILITERALS

§ 47. Quadriliterals

A quadriliteral verb with vowel *o* after the 2nd radical (*Verb* § 36c), is *'agmomä'a* "be sorrowful."

Some quadriliterals with prefix *'an-* are: *'an-sahrära* or *sahra* "vociferate (child)," *'an-kätkäta* "be in great quantity."

Abbreviated quadriliterals

§ 48. Type *särga* (1. 2. 3. *y*)

Add some verbs of this type to those in *Verb* § 34: *wärka* "to take away," *kämta* "pick flowers or leaves"; used only with prefix *'a-*: *'amänta* "give birth to twins" (denominative from *mänta* "twins"); with *w* as 2nd radical: *ṣåwṣa* "twist," *läwla* "move (active) in a circle"; with prefix *tə-* in type C: *tə-näwana* "shake the head for sorrow."

Perfect

Singular	Plural
3rd masc. *särga* "he orned"	*särgåw*
3rd fem. *särget*	*särgäya*
2nd masc. *särgeka*	*särgekum*
2nd fem. *särgeki*	*särgekən*
1st com. *särgeko*	*särgena*

Imperfect, jussive

Singular	Plural
3rd masc. *ləsärgə̈*	*ləsärgåw*
3rd fem. *təsärgə̈*	*ləsärgäya*
2nd masc. *təsärgə̈*	*təsärgåw*
2nd fem. *təsärgäy*	*təsärgäya*
1st com. *'əsärgə̈*	*nəsärgə̈*

Imperative

Singular	Plural
2nd masc. *särgə̈*	*särgåw*
2nd fem. *särgäy*	*särgäya*

§ 49. Type *mezäna*

Add some verbs to those of *Verb* § 35: *ṭeṭäma* "eat grass or leaves (goat)," *negära* "tell," *ṣedäda* "hit" (not "point out"), *heläla* "throw in rapid succession," *herära* "go away fast," *geläla* "draw water" (not "drive"), *derära* "be satisfied," *šeräba* "braid a rope for weaving bags," *gegära* "to make a gurgling sound as liquid when it is being drunk," *'ešäna* "hit by throwing"; with prefix *'a*: *'aserära* "walk single-file."

Basic stem

Perf. *mezäna* "to weigh"; impft. juss. *ləmezən*; imper. *mezən.*

Stem with prefix *'a-*

Perf. *'amezäna*; impft. juss. *lämezən*; imper. *'amezən.*

Stem with prefix *'at-*

Perf. *'atmezäna*; impft. juss. *lätmezən*; imper. *'atmezən.*

§ 50. Type *qoqäla*

Add some verbs of this type to those of *Verb* § 36: *boğäla* "be fed up with something," *gogära* "detach bread from the baking pan," *fofäna* "resume milking of a cow after she was dry," *goräta* "carry, transport," *moṭä'a* "throw the sling" (denominative of *moṭa'* "sling"). With prefix *tə-*: *təforä'a* "be courageous"; with prefix *'a-*: *'asolä'a* "be homesick"; with prefix *'an-*: *'ančorära* "tramp about." Note that in most of the verbs the 1st radical is a labial or palatal, and the *o* might be the result of assimilation with delabialization in the case of the labiovelars (g^w, q^w). A few of the verbs, however, begin with other consonants and may involve an analogical transfer.

Stem with prefix *tə-*

Perf. *təqoqäla* "be scraped out"; impft. juss. *lətqoqäl*; imper. *təqoqäl.*

Stem with prefix *'a-*

Perf. *'aqoqäla*; impft. juss. *läqoqəl*; imper. *'aqoqəl.*

Stem with prefix *'at-*

Perf. *'atqoqäla*; impft. juss. *lätqoqəl*; imper. *'atqoqəl.*

§ 51. Type *čefa* (1*y*3*y*)

Add some verbs to those of *Verb* § 37: *ḥega* "give protection" (not "find protection"), *ṣeṣa* "remove the hull of wheat," *lefa* "seize and throw down," *heda* "make a gift" (not "distribute"), *keka* or *mema* or *šeša* "sift," *čeḥa* "be visible (the hull of growing wheat)." With prefix *'a-*: *'alela* "distinguish,"

Basic stem

Perf. *čefa* "make a thick soup"; impft. juss. *ləčefə̈*; imper. *čefə̈.*

Stem with prefix *tə-*

Perf. *təčefa*; impft. juss. *lətčefə̈*; imper. *təčefə̈.*

Stem with prefix *'a-*

Perf. *'ačefa*; impft. juss. *läčefə̈*; imper. *'ačefə̈.*

The verb *'alela* "distinguish" belongs to this type contrary to what is indicated in *Verb* § 23e.

Stem with prefix *'at-*

Perf. *'atčefa*; impft. juss. *lätčefą̈*; imper. *'atčefą̈*.

§ 52. Type *gola* (1*w*3*y*)

Add some verbs to those of *Verb* § 38: *toba* and *tofa* "repent," *qoša* "live in a village" (denominative of *qišot* "village"), *qosa* "cut mush." With prefix *'an-*: *'an-goga* "tramp about."

Basic stem

Perf. *gola* "sing and dance"; fem. *golet*; impft. juss. *ləgolą̈*; imper. *golą̈*.

Stem with prefix *'a-*

Perf. *'agola*; impft. juss. *lägolą̈*; imper. *'agolą̈*.

Stem with prefix *'at-*

Perf. *'atgola*; impft. juss. *lätgolą̈*; imper. *'atgolą̈*.

§ 53. Quinquiliterals

Stem with prefix *'at-*

Perf. *'athaläbläba* "cause to make to twitch"; impft. juss. *läthaläbləb*; imper. *'athaläbləb*.

PARTICLES

§ 54. Prepositions

a) There are several biliteral prepositions starting with *'ə*. The treatment of the last radical when connected with the suffixed pronouns is different for each of these prepositions. The prepositions are: *'əl* "to, for," *'əb* "with, by, in," *'ət* "to, into, for, against."

b) In *'əl*, the *l* is simple throughout:

Singular	Plural
3rd masc. *'əlu*	*'ələm*
3rd fem. *'əla*	*'ələn*
2nd masc. *'əlka* or *'ekka* (see § 6b)	*'əlkum* or *'əkkum*
2nd fem. *'əlki* or *'əkki*	*'əlkən* or *'əkkən*
1st com. *'əlyä* or *'əyyä* (see § 5)	*'əlna*

c) In *'ət*, the last radical is geminated with the suffixed pronouns of the 3rd person and of the 1st person singular (*t* > *čč*, see § 5); it is simple with the other persons.

Singular	Plural
3rd masc. *'əttu*	*'əttom*
3rd fem. *'ətta*	*'əttän*
2nd masc. *'ətka*	*'ətkum*
2nd fem. *'ətki*	*'ətkən*
1st com. *'əčča*	*'ətna*

d) In *'əb* the last radical is geminated throughout:

Singular	Plural
3rd masc. *'əbbu*	*'əbbom*
3rd fem. *'əbba*	*'əbbän*
2nd masc. *'əbbəka*	*'əbbəkum*
2nd fem. *'əbbəki*	*'əbbəkən*
1st com. *'əbbəyä*	*'əbbəna*

e) Note that nearly all the prepositions (*Sketches* § 58), even those formed by invariable elements, can be used with suffixed pronouns. Thus from *dib* "to, upon": *dibyä*; *go* "near": *goka*; *bak* "near": *baku*, and so on.

f) The preposition *kəmsäl* or *'akəl* "like" expresses equality: *hətu 'akəlyä* or *kəmsälyä ṣəgub tu* "he is as rich as I am"; *'akəl* alone, if not followed by an adjective or an adverb, expresses equality in size: *hətu 'akəlyä tu* "he is my size" (as big or as small as I am).

g) The comparative is expressed by *mən*: *hətu mənyä ṣäggəb* "he is richer than I am"; superlative by *mən kull* ("than all"): *hətu mən kullu lädəgge ṣäggəb* "he is richer than all the village, he is the richest man in the village."

h) The equivalent of "instead of" is *mən ḥənet*: *'əlli kətab 'əglu habbo mən ḥənet 'əgəl bə'əd təhayyäbbo* "give this book to him instead of (literally "instead that you give it") to another."

i) Other prepositions are: *mäṭor* "equal, alike," *'ət gäṣ* "opposite," *ǧälläb-* or *ǧälla-* "for the sake of," *ḥaqo-hu* beside *ḥaqo-ha* "after" (*-hu, -ha* is suffix pronoun of the 3rd pers. masc. fem.).

§ 55. Adverbs

a) Adverbs of PLACE:

α) Add to *Sketches* § 59a: *'ət lohe* and *'ət le* "there," consisting of the preposition *'ət* and the demonstrative element *lohe* or *le* (*Sketches* § 50b).

β) Interrogative adverbs: *'əš* "where?". With the suffixed pronouns there are forms which are not clear and require additional study.

Singular	Plural
3rd masc. *'əšəwo* "where is he?"	*'əšəwom tom* or *'əšəwa tom*
3rd fem. *'əšəwa*	*'əšəwän tän* or *'əšəwa tän*
2nd masc. *'əšəwo 'ənta*	*'əšəwom 'əntum* or *'əšəwa 'əntum*
2nd fem. *'əšəwa 'ənti*	

The suffixed pronouns *-wo, -wa, -wom, -wän* are joined to the plural verb endings *-o* of the perfect and *-u* of the imperfect, jussive and the imperative (*Sketches* § 48aδ). It is curious, however, that the form *'əšəwa* is also used for the plural.

γ) Beside *mən 'aya* "from where?", the form *mən daya* is also used with the same value; for the *d*, see § 9.

b) Adverbs of TIME:

Add: *walā* "never" (Arabic *walā*) with the negative verb: *walā 'imäṣa* "he never came"; *kəl 'əwwan* "always"; *'ət rä'äs* "first"; *yom* or *yomäta* "today."

c) Adverbs of MANNER:

'akəl läbəzuḥ . . . . . bəzuḥ "the more . . . the more": *'akəl läbəzuḥ zäbäṭkuwo bəzuḥ bäkkʷ* "the more I beat him the more he cried."

d) Adverbs of NEGATION:

The simple adverb of negation is *ya'* "no," emphatic *yayäyä*.

CONJUNCTIONS

§ 56. Conjunctions of subordination

a) TIME, CIRCUMSTANCE AND MANNER:

α) Beside *'əndo* with the perfect to express concomitance (*Sketches* § 60aα), the form *'əndä* is also used.

β) *'əndäy* "before" is used with the imperfect, but also with the perfect: *läbet 'əndäy 'aṣreka* (perfect) or *täṣärrʷ korit 'əgəl təttälhʷ 'ikon* "you will not play ball before having cleaned the house"; *laḥağät 'əndäy tə'ämmər* (or *'amärka*) *'itəthagʷ* "do not speak before you know the fact"; *lä'ənsa 'astiya mədər 'əndäy mässʷ* "water the camels before the sun sets."

The idea of "before" is also expressed by the preposition *qädäm* followed by a noun: *nabra habbo 'əndäy gäyyəs* or *qädäm gašahu* "give him food before he goes" (or "before his going").

γ) *kəm* with the verb in perfect "after, when": *lädärhəm kəm särqa gesa* "after he had stolen the money he left"; *läwärqät kəm qär'ayya šaṭṭayya* "after he had read the letter he tore it to pieces"; *zəlam kəm zälma 'ət bet 'ateko* "when it rained I entered the hut."

The idea of "after" is also expressed by *ḥaqo* (*Sketches* §60aβ) and by *ḥaqo-ma*: *ḥaqoma məsəl mäsnihu tärakäba 'əgəl lər'anni mäṣa* "he came to see me after he met his friend."

δ) The conjunction *kəm* with the perfect expresses also "as soon as" followed or not by *'əbbabbahu* "at once" (repetition of *'əb*, *Sketches* § 59dγ): *lə'ənas kəm mota lägnazätu ḥaṣbåw* "as soon as the man is dead they wash the body"; *kəm mäṣa 'əbbabbahu 'əgəl ləbla' 'ambäta* "as soon as he came home he began to eat."

ε) For *'asək* "until" (*Sketches* § 60aγ), some more examples follow here: *läbun ṭäḥanna 'asək täkkəm* "grind the coffee until it is well ground"; *lä'əčät zäbəṭṭa 'asək təwåddəq* "strike the tree until it falls"; *'asək läšum mäṣṣi' ṣənaḥ* "wait until the chief comes."

ζ) *mən* with the perfect "since": *mən 'aqbäla 'irə'äkuwo* "since he came back I have not seen him"; *mən mäṣa säb läḥammədo halla* "since he came men have praised him."

η) The idea of "when" is expressed by various conjunctions mentioned in *Sketches* § 60aδ. Add to them: *kəmsäl* with the perfect: *kəmsäl källäsna 'əgəl nigīs tu* "when we finish (when we have finished) we shall go"; *mən gäbbi'* preceded by the verb in perfect: *zəlam zälma mən gäbbi' 'aṭal 'ət bet 'attʷ* "when it rains the goats go into the hut."

θ) *kä'anna* "so that": *'əlli gämäl bəzuḥ ḥəfun tu kä'anna 'əgəl ləṣ'anno 'i'əqäddər* "the camel is so wild that I cannot ride it." In this example, *kä'anna* is followed by the imperfect *'i'əqäddər*, but for the action in the past, it can probably also be followed by the perfect.

b) FINALITY:

The conjunction *'əndäy* "lest" is used with the jussive: *'əlli fəre 'itəbla' 'əndäy timut* "do not eat that fruit lest you die"; *laḥəṣan 'itəzbäṭ 'əndäy təzzäbbäṭ* "do not beat this child lest you be beaten."

c) CAUSE AND REASON:

The conjunction *'əgəl mi* is used very often in the meaning of "because": *'ana 'əlli färäs*

ʾiʾəzabäyyo ʾəgəl mi lälaʾakkəl därhəm ʾalābəyä "I cannot buy this horse because I don't have enough money"; *ʾəgəl ligis ʾiqäddər ʾəgəl mi ḥəmum tu* "he cannot leave because he is sick."

d) DECLARATION:

The imperfect *mässəl* "it seems that" is followed by the imperfect or by *ʾəgəl* with the jussive: *yom zälləm* (or *ʾəgəl ləzläm*) *mässəl halla* "it seems that it will rain today"; *yom zälləm ʾimässəl-ni* "it seems that it will not rain today" (literally "it seems not that it will rain today").

e) INDIRECT INTERROGATION:

a) The subordinate interrogation is expressed by the interrogative adverb followed by *kəm* "that" which introduces the subordinate sentence: *ḥuhu ʾəttäya kəm rəʾəkahu ʾasʾəllo* "tell him where you saw his brother"; *läbet ʾəgəl mi kəm ʾazbaya təʾammər* "do you know why he sold the house?"; *ʾakəl ʾayi kəm käfälka ʾəttu ʾasəʾəlänni* "tell me how much you paid for it?"; *mäʾaze kəm mäṣṣiʾ ʾiʾammər* "I do not know when he will come."

β) The idea of "whether" is expressed by various means. It can be expressed by the principal verb in the positive followed by the alternative particle *mi* (or *mən gäbbiʾ*) and the principal verb repeated in the negative: *bäqälu räkbaya mi ʾiräkbaya ʾiʾammər* "I do not know whether he has found his mule" (literally: "I do not know, has he found his mule or did he not find it?"); *fäğər mäṣṣiʾ mi ʾimäṣṣiʾ səʾällo* "ask him whether he will come tomorrow" (literally: "ask him, will he come tomorrow or will he not come?"); *gis kä-läšum mäṣa mən gäbbiʾ wäʾimäṣa rəʾḭ̈* "go and see whether the chief has come or not."

The idea of "whether" can also be expressed by the repetition of the verb "to know" in the positive and in the negative separated by *mi* or *walā*, the subordinate sentence being introduced by *mən gäbbiʾ*: *bäqälu rakba mən gäbbiʾ täʾammər mi* (or *walā*) *ʾitäʾämmər* "do you know whether he found his mule?".

f) CONDITION:

a) The real condition is expressed by *mən* followed by the imperfect (*Sketches* § 60f*a*), or by *mən gäbbiʾ* "if it happens that" preceded by the verb in the perfect (and not followed as wrongly indicated in *Sketches* § 60f*a*): *mäsniyä mən mäṣṣiʾ* or *mäṣa mən gäbbiʾ wäʾät ʾəgəl habbo tu* "if my friend comes I will give him a cow."

The expression *mən gäbbiʾ* preceded by the verb in the negative expresses "unless": *salasa rəyal ʾihabkuwwo mən gäbbiʾ läʾadəg ʾiläzäbbəyyo ʾəčča* "unless I give him three hundred dollars he will not sell the donkey to me"; *nošš̈ą ʾiʾamṣaʾakuwwo mən gäbbiʾ ʾimäṣṣiʾ* "unless I fetch him he will not come."

Note that *mən gäbbiʾ* does not change whatever the person of the verb is: *ʾasmara ʾigeska mən gäbbiʾ därhəm ʾihaybäkka* "if you do not go to Asmara I will not give you any money."

β) The unreal condition in the past is expressed by the participial form *qatəl* followed by *mən gäbbiʾ* (conjugated) for the positive, by *mən ʾigäbbiʾ* for the negative; the apodosis is introduced by *wä* followed by the perfect compounded with *ʿala*. Examples: *malą̈ maṣəʾ mən təgäbbəʾ wäʾät wä-habkoka ʿalko* "if you had come yesterday I would have given you a cow"; *lädärhəm rakba mən gäbbiʾ särra wä-habkuwwo ʿalko* "if I had found the money I would have given him half of it" (*rakba* is the participle *rakəb* with the suffixed pronoun of the 3rd person, feminine); *malą̈ zaləm mən ʾigäbbiʾ ʾasmara wä-gesko ʿalko* "if it had not rained yesterday I would have gone to Asmara."

Instead of *mən gäbbiʾ* in the protasis one also finds *wä-gäʾa*: *hətu təʾzaz rakəb wä-gäʾa wä-wädäyu ʿala* "if he had received an order he would have done it."

To express a possession in the unreal condition one uses *mən ləwʿəl ʾəl-* with the suffixed pronouns (*mən* conjunction, *ləwʿəl* is imperfect of *ʿala* "it was, he was," *ʾəl* "to, for"): *därhəm mən ləwʿəl ʾəyyä läbeṭ wåzabeko ʿalko* "if I had money I would have bought the house." For the expression of the possession, see *Sketches* § 56.

g) HYPOTHESIS:

The hypothesis is expressed by *walā mən* followed by the imperfect of the verb, or by *mən-ma* followed by the imperfect, or by the perfect + *ma* followed by *mən gäbbiʾ*; for the negative, the principal verb is preceded by the particle of negation *ʾi-*. The apodosis is expressed by the future (*ʾəgəl* + jussive + *tu*), for the positive; by the negative imperfect, for the negative. Examples: *walā mən zälləm* or *mənma zälləm* or *zalma mən gäbbiʾ suq̄ ʾəgəl ligīs tu* "even if it rains I will go to the market"; *walā mən ʾizälləm* or *mənma ʾizälləm* or *ʾizälma mən gäbbiʾ suq̄ ʾiʾəgäyyəs* "even if it does not rain I shall not go to the market"; *walā bəzuḥ*

dähäb mən təhaybänni wä'äčča 'ətka 'i'azäbbiyya "even if you give me much gold I will not sell my cow to you."

h) WISH:

The unreal wish ("if only!") is expressed by the participle *qatəl* followed by *mən gäbbi'*: *malq̈ maṣi' mən gäbbi'* "if only he came yesterday!"; *räbbi woro ḥəṣan hayəbyä mən gäbbi* "if only God gave me a boy!".

§ 57. Conjunctions of coordination

a) ALTERNATIVE:

The two elements of the alternative are separated by *ləgba' ma*: *'ana ləgba' ma ḥuyä 'əgəl nəmṣa'kum 'ikon* "neither I nor my brother will come to you"; *'ana səga ləgba' ma 'əngera 'i'əbällə'* "I do not eat either meat or bread"; *'ana 'ət suq̈ yom ləgba' ma fäğər 'i'əgäyyəs* "I shall not go to the market either today or tomorrow"; *bä'al bet ləgba' ma gana* "be it the owner or a stranger."

b) OPPOSITION:

α) "Not only . . . but also" is expressed by *leṭa* followed by the verb in the negative in the "not only" sentence, and the conjunction *-ma* in the "but" sentence: *ḥuhu leṭa 'ikon 'abuhu-ma 'ətta qäbər 'imäṣa* "not only his brother but also his father failed to come to the burial"; *ḥaddas bet leṭa' 'isärḥa la-ma*[18] *bet gəndabit 'afräsa* "not only did he fail to build a new house but he (even) destroyed the old one."

β) *dä'äm* "but." To illustrate the use of *dä'am* a complete sentence is added to *Sketches* § 61cγ: *dib mäsniyä 'əgəl 'igis ḥazzq̈ 'alko dä'am ḥamämko* "I wanted to go to my friend, but I was sick."

γ) *mənna ta* "but": *mənna ta 'ab 'əb ləmäyyət lətwärräs* "but when the father dies he is inherited."

§ 58. VOCATIVE AND INTERJECTIONS

In addition to the vocative form of *Sketches* § 62 note: masc. *yäha* "O thou," fem. *yähäy*; pl. masc. *yähåw* "O you," fem. *yähayat*.

For "take," the following forms are used: masc. sg. *'ənka*, fem. *'ənki*; pl. masc. *'ənkum*, fem. *'ənkən*.

[I wish to express my thanks to Col. G. K. N. Trevaskis whose help enabled me to accomplish my work on Tigré.]

[18] *la* is the demonstrative element, *-ma* conjunction of insistence.

DECLENSION AND NASALIZATION IN HINDUSTANI

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[A descriptive study. **1-3**: The noun and adjective inflections are stated (morphemes and definitions; paradigms; alternations). **4-7**: A study of the occurrence of nasalization shows that the seemingly aberrant nasalized case endings (type daswãñ), which are found only after vowel (or 'semivowel'), merely reflect nasalized stems. Excursus on gender syntax in fn. 6; on ʰ in fn. 15.]

1. Hindustani[1] SUBSTANTIVES (subdivided below into nouns and adjectives) are words which form paradigms consisting of a stem and one of three sets of endings. Consequently there are three genders of paradigms, masculine, feminine, and common-gender. These are the endings:

[1] Colloquial Urdu chiefly as recorded from Mr. Mirza Jaffer of Allahabad in 1942-5 under the auspices of the Intensive Language Program of the American Council of Learned Societies (J. Milton Cowan, Director). The phonemes, aside from the still unanalysed intonations, are # or space (word boundary); *a e i o u* : (vowels); *p t ṭ c k q b d ḍ j g f s š x z γ m n ŋ r ṛ l* (consonants); ˜ (nasalization) ʰ (breathing). *e* (*i*) *o* (*u*) when adjoining certain other vowels are non-syllabic; there is no need to set up 'y' and 'w' phonemes. : is 'vowel length.' *ṭ ḍ* are retroflex stops; *ṛ* is a retroflex flap. Some features of the phonemic notation here used will be justified in the course of this paper.

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TABLE 1

		MASCULINE		FEMININE		COMMON-GENDER	
		adjectival	nominal	adjectival	nominal	adjectival	nominal
		indifferent		indifferent		indifferent	
nom	SG	-*a*:		zero		zero	
voc, obl	SG	-*e*:		zero		zero	
nom	PL	-*e*:		zero	-*ẽ*: ~ *ã*: ~ ˜	zero	
voc	PL	-*e*:	-*o*:	zero	-*o*:	zero	-*o*:
obl	PL	-*e*:	-*õ*:	zero	-*õ*:	zero	-*õ*:

In all three genders, then, there are special nominal forms in -*o*: and -*õ*: for the voc and obl pl respectively, contrasting with adjectival forms. FEMININES (*aorat* 'woman,' *kʰiṛki*: 'window' *be*: *ṭi*: 'daughter,' *accʰi*: 'good,' *giri*: 'fallen, fell') are distinguished by the presence of such a contrasting nominal form for the nom pl also.[2] MASCULINES (*paes-a*: 'money,' *be*: *ṭ-a*: 'son,' *accʰ-a*: 'good,' *gir-a*: 'fallen, fell') take inflectional endings (-*a*: for the nom sg, -*e*: for the other cases) even in their adjectival and indifferent forms. The remaining substantives are COMMON-GENDER substantives (*do*: *st* 'friend,' *lo*: *g* pl 'people,' *ra*: *ja*: 'prince,' *xu*: *bsu*: *rat* 'beautiful').[3]

The choice between the three cases (nom(inative), voc(ative), obl(ique)) and the two numbers (s(in)g(ular), pl(ural)) rests on the environment; it is a matter of syntactic function and meaning. The further choice, in those particular plural case categories which provide the distinction, between an adjectival and a nominal form is likewise syntactical in nature. In certain constructions, I (e. g. as modifiers in *be*: *ṭi*: [*lo*: *g*] 'daughters-[people], daughters,' *accʰi*: [*aorat-ẽ*:] 'good [women]'), all words appear in their adjectival or, where the distinction does not exist, indifferent form. In certain other constructions, II (e. g. as head of the subject in *be*: *ṭi*: -*ã*: 'daughters,' *accʰi*: -*ã*: 'good ones (fem.)'; or as predicates in *giri*: -˜ = *girĩ*: 'they fell (fem.)'; or preceding particles as in *aorat-õ*: *ko*: 'to women,' *accʰi*: *õ*: *ko*: 'to good ones (fem.),' *be*: *ṭ-õ*: *ko*: 'to sons,' *accʰ-õ*: *ko*: 'to good ones (masc.),' *ra*: *ja*: -*õ*: *ko*: 'to princes'), all words appear in their nominal (or indifferent) forms. In still another construction, III (as a predicate complement with a verb immediately following), some substantives appear typically in adjectival (or indifferent form (*accʰi*: *ʰo*: 'ye are good (fem.),' *giri*: *ʰo*: 'ye are fallen, have fallen (fem.)'), while

[2] See three paragraphs below for the three alternant forms of the suffix (-*ẽ*:, -*ã*:, -˜). In accordance with dictionary practice, paradigms are identified by their nom (sg) forms. Hyphen is used in morphological discussion to indicate boundary between stem and case ending, and for no other purpose.

[3] PRONOUNS are here left out of account. They are really common-gender substantives characterized by the absence of a vocative, the presence of at least two additional case categories, and extensive stem suppletion. *a*: *p* 'you (polite)' is not a pronoun but, true to its history (cf. Skt. *ātman-*), a regular common-gender substantive. It occurs in the singular only (has no suffixed forms) but always shows that quasi-plural agreement (including, in the informant's speech, the distinction between *a*: *p giri*: 'you—one female person—fell' and *a*: *p girĩ*: 'you—several females—fell') which is more or less optionally characteristic of other honorifics.

Foreign inflections of Arabic, Persian, and English loanwords are also disregarded in the present article.

the rest show only nominal (or indifferent) inflections (*be*: *ṭi*: *-ā*: *ʰo*: 'ye are daughters'). Since only nominatives occur in III, the difference is not apparent except where a feminine pl is involved. Those feminines whose plural is found in adjectival form in construction III are FEMININE ADJECTIVES (*accʰi*:, *giri*:); those feminines whose plural is found in nominal form in III are FEMININE NOUNS (*be*: *ṭi*:, *kʰiṛki*:, *aorat*). As the frequency of feminine nouns vs. feminine adjectives in constructions I and II respectively is studied, it is found, furthermore, that most feminine adjectives occur in I and most feminine nouns in II, the reverse being more or less confined to set phrases. It follows that nominal forms of feminine adjectives (*accʰi*: *-ā*:, *accʰi*: *-o*:, *giri*: *-ō*:) and adjectival forms of feminine nouns (*be*: *ṭi*: [*lo*: *g*]) are relatively or absolutely rare.[4]

All feminine adjective stems (*accʰi*: -, *giri*: -) and some feminine noun stems (*be*: *ṭi*: -, but not *kʰiṛki*: -) are derived from masculine stems by the addition of *i*: -.[5] Masculines from which feminine adjectives are thus derived are MASCULINE ADJECTIVES (*accʰ-a*:); all others are MASCULINE NOUNS (*paes-a*:, *be*: *ṭ-a*:). The relative frequency of masculine adjectives vs. masculine nouns as among constructions I and II parallels that of feminine nouns and adjectives. A feminine adjective may be said to form with its underlying masculine a TWIN adjective paradigm. (In a sentence, the masculine part of it will agree with a masculine or common-gender word: *accʰ-e*: *paes-e*: 'good monies,' *accʰ-e*: *ra*: *ja*: 'good princes,' *accʰ-e*: *do*: *st* 'good (male) friends'; the feminine part with a feminine or common-gender word: *accʰi*: *be*: *ṭi*: *-ā*: 'good daughters,' *accʰi*: *aorat-ē*: 'good women,' *accʰi*: *do*: *st* 'good (female) friends.')[6] In the case of the common-gender substantives a distinction between nouns and adjectives can be based only on their frequency in constructions I and II respectively: those more often found in I are COMMON-GENDER ADJECTIVES (*xu*: *bsu*: *rat*), those more often found in II, COMMON-GENDER NOUNS (*ra*: *ja*:, *do*: *st*, *lo*: *g*).

Twin adjectives are PARTICIPLES if the masculine stem equals a verb stem (past participle), or a verb stem followed by *t-* (present participle) (*gir* verb stem 'fall': *gir-a*:, *giri*: past participle masc. and fem. 'fallen, fell'; *girt-a*:, *girti*: present participle masc. and fem. 'falling, would have fallen'). The nominal nom pl of the feminine participles shows the suffix alternant *-ˉ* (*girī*: 'they fell (fem.),' *girtī*: 'they would have fallen (fem.)'); the other feminine stems in *i*: show alternant *-ā*: or, stylistically less favored, *-ē*: (*accʰi*: *-ā*: [*accʰi*: *-ē*:] 'good ones (fem.),' *be*: *ṭi*: *-ā*: [*be*: *ṭi*: *-ē*:] 'daughters'); the remaining feminines show *-ē*: only (*aorat-ē*: 'women'; there are no adjectives of this type).

2. The following paradigms result (**A** = adjective; **N** = noun; ajl = adjectival; idt = indifferent; nl = nominal. Relatively rare forms (as defined above) are given in parentheses. *accʰ-a*: *accʰi*: and *gir-a*: *giri*: are twin adjectives. *gir-a*: *giri*: are participles):

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[4] Participles in the nominal nom occur typically as predicates; see two paragraphs below. Otherwise they are distributed much like adjectives in general.

[5] Conversely, some masculine stems (*accʰ-*) underlie feminine adjectives; others (*be*: *ṭ-*) underlie feminine nouns; still other (*paes-*) lack a feminine counterpart.

[6] More explicitly, (1) the nominal (or indifferent) forms of MOST common-gender NOUNS may require masculine or common-gender adjectival (or indifferent) substantives as modifiers, predicate complements, etc. Hence words like *do*: *st* are traditionally called masculine. Some of these same common-gender nouns occur, however, ALSO with feminine adjectival modifiers etc. (and, of course, feminine nominal—or indifferent—forms of participles as predicates) mostly with the meaning 'female . . .' as in the above example (S. Boekman has called this to the author's attention). *lo*: *g* and, above all, pronouns (fn. 3) like *uo*: 'that, those,' *tũm* 'ye' are constant examples. (2) Nominal (or indifferent) forms of common-gender ADJECTIVES will have either masculine (or common-gender) or feminine (or common gender) adjectival modifiers etc. according to meaning (male, or general, vs. female): *hīdustā*: *n ki*: *xu*: *bsu*: *rat-o*: 'India belonging-to (fem.) beautiful ones!,' i. e. 'beautiful (women) of India!.' (3) Some nominal (or indifferent) forms of common-gender adjectives with specialized meanings call for masculine (or common-gender), others for feminine (or common-gender) agreement as a matter of lexicon; e. g. *gujra*: *ti*: 'Gujerati, belonging to the Gujerat country,' but nominal form with feminine (or common-gender) agreement 'Gujerati language' as in *accʰi*: *gujra*: *ti*: 'good Gujerati.' See fn. 9. To the extent that its meaning is specialized (and especially where it has outlived, historically, its basic adjective paradigm; I have no examples) such a nominal (indifferent) adjective is simply a common-gender NOUN (see end of preceding paragraph) with masculine (or common-gender) or feminine (or common-gender) agreement, as the case may be; hence the stricture ('most') under (1).

None of these instances must be confused with feminine nouns (nom pl nominal in *-ē*:) the stems of which are identical with those of common-gender nouns: *accʰi*: *me*: *z-ē*: 'good tables' alongside *accʰ-e*: *me*: *z*, same meaning; contrast *accʰi*: *lo*: *g* 'good people (ref. to women)': *accʰ-e*: *lo*: *g* 'good people (ref. to men, or general).'

TABLE 2

	MASCULINE		FEMININE		COMMON-GENDER
	nom sg idt	*acc^h-a*: *gir-a*:	*acc^{h}i*: *giri*:		*xu*: *bsu*: *rat*
	voc, obl sg idt	*acc^h-e*: *gir-e*:	*acc^{h}i*: *giri*:		*xu*: *bsu*: *rat*
A	nom pl ajl idt	*acc^h-e*: *gir-e*:	*acc^{h}i*: *giri*:		*xu*: *bsu*: *rat*
	nl		(*acc^{h}i*: *-ā*:) *girī*:		
	voc pl ajl idt	*acc^h-e*: *gir-e*:	*acc^{h}i*: *giri*:		*xu*: *bsu*: *rat*
	nl	(*acc^h-o*:) (*gir-o*:)	(*acc^{h}i*: *-o*:) (*giri*: *-o*:)		(*xu*: *bsu*: *rat-o*:)
	obl pl ajl idt	*acc^h-e*: *gir-e*:	*acc^{h}i*: *giri*:		*xu*: *bsu*: *rat*
	nl	(*acc^h-õ*:) (*gir-õ*:)	(*acc^{h}i*: *-õ*:) (*giri*: *-õ*:)		(*xu*: *bsu*: *rat-õ*:)
	nom sg idt	*paes-a*: *be*: *ṭ-a*:	*aorat* *k^{h}iṛki*: *be*: *ṭi*:		*do*: *st*
	voc, obl sg idt	*paes-e*: *be*: *ṭ-e*:	*aorat* *k^{h}iṛki*: *be*: *ṭi*:		*do*: *st*
N	nom pl ajl idt	*paes-e*: *be*: *ṭ-e*:	(*aorat*) (*k^{h}iṛki*:) (*be*: *ṭi*:)		*do*: *st*
	nl		*aorat-ẽ*: *k^{h}iṛki*:*-ã*: *be*: *ṭi*: *-ã*:		
	voc pl ajl idt	(*paes-e*:) (*be*: *ṭ-e*:)	(*aorat*) (*k^{h}iṛki*:) (*be*: *ṭi*:)		(*do*: *st*)
	nl	*paes-o*: *be*: *ṭ-o*:	*aorat-o*: *k^{h}iṛki*: *-o*: *be*: *ṭi*: *-o*:		*do*: *st-o*:
	obl pl ajl idt	(*paes-e*:) (*be*: *ṭ-e*:)	(*aorat*) (*k^{h}iṛki*:) (*be*: *ṭi*:)		(*do*: *st*)
	nl	*paes-õ*: *be*: *ṭ-õ*:	*aorat-õ*: *k^{h}iṛki*: *-õ*: *be*: *ṭi*: *-õ*:		*do*: *st-õ*:

3. The sound pattern of Hindustani entails certain automatic alternations of STEM-final phonemes. Before any of the (vocalic) suffixes the sequence non-initial consonant plus single vowel loses its vowel under certain conditions[7] (*saṛak* nom sg 'street,' but *saṛk-ẽ*: nom pl nominal) and *e*, *o* are lost from the groups *a^{h}e*, *a^{h}o* (*ta^{h}e* nom sg 'fold,' but *ta^{h}õ*: obl pl nominal). Before the endings *-e*: and *-ẽ*:[8] an *e* preceded by vowel is lost (*ga*: *e* nom sg. 'cow' and *ga*: *e-õ*: obl pl nominal, but *ga*: *-ẽ*: nom pl nominal). Before the endings *-o*: and *-õ*: an *o* preceded by vowel is lost (*baca*: *o* nom sg 'rescue': *baca*: *-õ*: obl pl nominal). Furthermore, there are a few instances of suppletion (*ciṛi*: *a*:

[7] When preceded by a single (short) vowel. When a vowel cluster precedes, the loss seems to be optional (*aorat-ẽ*: and *aort-ẽ*: both occur). When a consonant precedes, the treatment varies according to the consonant cluster which results or would result.

[8] And before *i*:- in deriving feminine from masculine stems. The further loss of stem-final *i*: before this *i*:- (*ki*:*-a* nom sg '(was) done (masc.),' but *ki*: sg fem.) is perhaps not entirely automatic.

In rapid speech geminates are simplified and stops that are accompanied by *ʰ* are replaced by plain ones before zero suffix (*gidd^h-õ*: obl pl nominal vs. *gid*(*d^h*) nom sg etc. 'vulture' illustrates both).

nom sg 'bird' with pl nominal cases from a stem *ciṛi*:- as in *ciṛi*:*-ā*: nom pl nominal).

4. Only in one respect does there seem to be an irregularity that affects the inflectional ENDINGS.[9] The manuals list, or at least mention, certain substantives in which all endings, including the derivative *i*:- of feminine stems, are nasalized: "daswāñ" nom sg (other adjectival case forms "daswēñ"), a masculine adjective 'the tenth' and its feminine twin "daswīñ"; or "bāyāñ (bāēñ),[10] bāīñ" 'left,' another twin adjective; or the masculine noun "dhūāñ (dhūēñ)" 'smoke'; or the feminine noun "siwaīñ (pl siwaīñāñ)" 'Indian vermicelli; holiday gift.' In our preliminary notation these words appear as *daso-ā*: *daso-ē*: *dasoī*: ; *ba*: *e-ā*: *ba*: *-ē*: *ba*: *ī*: ; *dʰu*: *-ā*: *dʰu*:*-ē*: ; *sioaī*: *sioaī*: *-ā*: . Writing *-ā*: , *-ē*: , *ī*: - etc., when contrasted with the transliterations from Urdu, "āñ, ēñ, īñ," does away with the oddity of having to add, after the case endings,[11] an element "...ñ" common to the entire paradigm. It is moreover supported by the status of nasalization (˜, "ñ") in the language as a whole, quite aside from the paradigms under investigation: a nasalized vowel not only differs in sound from the sequence vowel plus nasal consonant (*n*, *m*, ŋ), but is characteristically shorter, its nasal component not counting, for the purposes of the automatic word stress, as a consonant (as *n*, *m*, ŋ do). *ḍʰāka*: 'covered, was covered' shares the stress pattern of *pata*: 'trace,' with weak stress on the first vowel which is short (single) and unchecked, whereas *lāŋka*: 'Ceylon' and *tīnka*: 'mote, straw'[12] have the louder initial stress of checked syllables, comparable to that of *ḍʰākta*: 'being covered, would have been covered.' In short, vowel *ā* is on the same footing as vowel *a*. The nasality of the former should not be represented on the line as a segment in the syllabic makeup of Hindustani.

This still leaves an extra set of nasalized endings paralleling oral ones after certain stems. The irregularity would obviously disappear if by some valid analysis the nasalization were moved back even further; that is, from the ending into the stem.

5. Two statements describe the distribution of nasality and orality in Hindustani vowels. First, a vowel or sequence of vowels within a word is either entirely oral or entirely nasalized. Secondly, only nasalized vowels or vowel sequences occur immediately before or after *m*, *n*, or ŋ; there is, in other words, contrast between *..ba*: *o*.., *..a*: *ob*.. and what might be written *..bã̄*: *õ*.., *..ã̄*: *õb*... but there is only *..mã̄*: *õ*.., *..ã̄*: *õm*...[13] Phonetically, the nasalized vowel sequences seem to be rather evenly nasalized after *m*, or *n*;[14] under all other conditions the velum appears to be lowered increasingly so that the nasal timbre is strongest toward the end. To indicate this we have put ˜ over the last vowel symbol (other than :) of a sequence to identify the sequence as nasalized.[15]

[9] Of course the phonemic shape of the nom sg (fn. 2) is not sufficient to predict gender: *accʰa*: is masculine, *ciṛi*: *a*: feminine, *ra*: *ja*: common-gender (although this particular word does not happen to be used with feminine concord; see fn. 6); *aorat* is feminine, *lo*: *g* common-gender; *mo*: *ti*: 'pearl' and *gujra*: *ti*: are common-gender (fn. 6) while *ro*: *ṭi*: 'bread' is feminine.

[10] See section 3. Cp. e.g., J. T. Platts, *A Grammar of the Hindūstānī or Urdū Language*[7] (Oxford 1941) 42, 43, 45, and fn. 17 below.

[11] Or rather case infixes.

[12] There is no *..aŋ*.., *..an*.. distinct from *..ãŋ*.., *..ãn*..; see next section. Incidentally, a contrast such as *lāŋka*: vs. *tīnka* (the latter with apical [n]) makes it necessary for the dialect in question to set up a phoneme ŋ. See J. R. Firth in A. H. Harley, *Colloquial Hindustani* (London 1944) xiii.

[13] For sequences with ʰ see fn. 15. It is possible that long vowels and perhaps other vowel sequences following a nasal consonant and preceding a consonant in very slow speech, are uttered with two contrasting degrees of nasalization (thus seeming after all to show contrast between phonemic nasalization and a mere vowel allophone after nasal consonant): *mā*: *ḍa*: '(was) rubbed' with the stronger variety of, say, "*ā*: *k*(ʰ)" 'eye,' vs. "*na*: *k*" 'nose' (in our terms, *mā*: *ḍa*: , *ā*: *k*(ʰ) and *nā*: *k*). The informant's consistency in this respect is hard to judge, and mere spelling pronunciation hard to rule out. The difficulty does not, at any rate, affect our further discussion which is based on word-final vowel sequences. S. G. M. Qadri, *Hindustani Phonetics* (Villeneuve St.-Georges and London, 1930) does not help. For pertinent material from other varieties of the language see G. Bailey in BSOS 6. 937.

[14] ŋ does not occur before vowel.

[15] ˜, then, is a prosodic phoneme which has a scope of more than one segmental phoneme. A more complex and, for the present purpose, less serviceable definition of ˜ could be found to incorporate its affinity to *m*, *n*, ŋ and to make such writings as *sūnā*: (with two ˜) appear overdetermined; see Z. S. Harris in Lang. 20. 181-205.

Several facts suggest a similar analysis for the various instances of phonemic breathing: aspiration (voiceless or voiced) after stops, voicelessness of vowels (as in [tæ̥e] *taʰe* 'fold'), voiceless glottal spirant before vowels (*ʰo*:

The limitation of ˜ works important, if simple, inflectional changes. If two nasalized vowel sequences come into contact within a word, the phonetic pattern of increasing or even nasality is automatically adopted. If one oral and one nasalized sequence come together (regardless in which order) the entire resulting sequence is nasalized (*la*: + *ũ*: = *la*: *ũ*: 'I may bring'; *mã*: + *o*: = *ma*: *õ*: 'mothers!'). Vocalic suffixes are replaced by their nasalized counterparts after stems ending in *m* or *n* (*sũn* + *a*: = *sũnã*: 'heard').

6. The last-mentioned process is not ordinarily recognized in traditional spelling (or grammar).[16] In both Urdu and Hindi we find the equivalent of ******suna*: rather than *sũnã*:. Yet in the dialect described here there is no difference between the final vowel of *sũnã*: and that of *dasoã*: ("daswāṅ"). *sũn-ã*:, *sũnĩ*:, and the many masculines and feminines like them must be added to the list of nasalized paradigms.

The difficulties attending the original members of that list (*daso-ã*:, *dʰu*: *-ã*:, *sioaĩ*:, etc.) vanish as soon as one realizes the significant fact that in every one of them the masculine stem which precedes the suffixes *-ã*:, *-ẽ*:, *-õ*:, and *ĩ*:- ends in a vowel, including, of course, 'semivowels,' as in *daso-ã*: "daswāṅ."[17] Hence their various case forms terminate with a nasalized vowel sequence of which the latter portion is suffixal. The source of nasality, descriptively speaking, is the portion belonging to the stem, since if *dasõ-*, *dʰũ*:-, (*sioã-*) are set up as stems, forms like *dasoã*:, *dʰu*: *ẽ*:, *sioaĩ*: result regularly and automatically. The analogy with *sũnã*: is complete. In particular, the stem-forming suffix meaning '-th' (*dasoã*: from *das* 'ten') must be listed as *õ-*.

7. Thus, a study of Hindustani phonology leads to the conclusion that, except for a few cases of suppletion, there is no need to set up irregular declensions. All alternations of phonemes observed in the paradigms of nouns and adjectives are automatic.

'ye are') initially, voiced glottal spirant between certain vowels or finally after certain vowels (*ša*: ʰ 'shah,' obl pl *ša*: ʰ*-õ*:), voicelessness freely alternating with murmured voice in liquids (*dulʰān* 'bride'). The aspiration does not 'make position' (see section 4) and would provide the only initial consonant clusters, if counted as a consonant. Unlike ordinary consonants, 'ʰ' is not geminated: '*ṣḥṭ*' 'health' is *seʰat*. The voiceless vowel is part of, and the glottal spirant fails to interrupt, vowel sequences for the purpose of nasality vs. orality (i.e., the sequence ..*maʰāb*.. is just as automatically nasalized by the *m* as is ..*maāb*..; on simultaneous breathing and nasalzation see Firth, *l.c.* xvi). The vowel combinations which occur, and the approximate frequency with which they occur, are the same whether ʰ intervenes (voiceless vowel is involved) or not; in most cases even vowel allophones are unaffected by ʰ (*taʰe* with [æ] before [e̥] like [æe] *ae* 'hey!,' as against [ʌ] in most other environments). The scope of ʰ (as we write tentatively) seems to be (1) consonant cluster (the plural of *dulʰān* is *dulʰẽ*: with the entire group *ln* affected); (2) vowel cluster (the diminutive of *cu*: ʰ*a*: 'rat' formed like *kutta*: 'dog': *kutti*: *a*: 'little dog' appears as *cu*: *i*: ʰ*a*:); given a vowel sequence, there appears to be generally only one place in which the breathing may crop up, depending on the configuration of the vowels in the sequence. But there remain a few troublesome cases like *pai*: ʰ*e*: 'wheels' vs. *kaʰi*: *e*: 'please say' (hardly a spelling pronunciation), aside from the fact that the scope of the breathing prosodeme in ʰ*o*: would be the pre-initial #. Considerable variation in the conventional spelling (of the type *cu*: *hi*: *a*:) reflects this state of affairs. It should also be remembered that ʰ in *tũmʰẽ*: 'to you,' for instance, has developed historically from *s* preceding, not following, *m*.

[16] But in cases like "mā," "māṅ" (both current for *mã*: 'mother') where no morphology is involved, spellings are confused enough. "gāoṅ, gāṅoṅ, gāṅw" and their prototypes (for *ga*: *õ* 'village') are likewise mere variants.

[17] See fn. 1.

In addition to the forms cited (and to other instances of *õ-* in ordinal numerals) the informant had *ku*: *ã*: 'well,' *da*: *e-ã* 'right (side),' and *ru*: *-ã*: 'fur' in his active vocabulary, although he stated his familiarity with others. Cases like *bāni*: *-ã*: 'merchant' must be excluded; their nasalization, though it happens to be recognized in conventional orthography, is automatic after *n*. The small number of items is not surprising considering the definitely Hindi (rather than Urdu; see fn. 1) character of most of them. It is highly significant, however, that among the 75 different substantives in "āṅ" and "īṅ" (not counting the various ordinal numerals) in J. T. Platts, *A Dictionary of Urdū, Classical Hindī, and English*[5] (London 1930) there does not seem to be one single instance of a phoneme other than vowel (semivowel), ʰ, or *m*, preceding the final nasalized vowel. The fact that a number of these entries are no doubt common-gender words rather than have suffixes *-a*:, *-i*: does not of course detract from the importance of the remainder.

It is interesting to note in this connection that the stem-final ..*õ-* thus posited is said to go back to *m* in a number of cases (cp. Ap. *ṽ*), as in ..*o-ã*: '-th (masc.)' from Skt. ..*makaḥ*.

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

The Origin of a Specific Rule on Adultery in the Germanic Laws

The rule that both culprits, the adulterer as well as the adulterous wife, have to be punished equally is found in the Burgundian and the Visigothic laws, as well as in the code of Hammurabi, the Assyrian code and the Hittite code. This Visigothic and Burgundian regulation does not conform with the tenor of Germanic law on adultery. It is taken over from the ancient Near Eastern laws.

1. The concept of adultery as a criminal deed is not identical in all societies. The attitudes toward punishment of this crime vary, although certain specific trends may be discerned. As a rule, afflictive sanctions are used in the case of adultery committed by the wife.[1] 'The unfaithfulness of the husband to the wife is seldom regarded as an offense.'[2]

The penalty for adultery on the wife's part is usually inflicted by the husband. It may occur, though it is seldom recorded, that the wife of the adulterer, with the help of her female friends or relatives, takes revenge on the adulterous woman by beating, wounding, or mistreating her in some way; she may even kill her.[3]

In a patriarchal society, a slight offense would be placed in the category of adultery. In ancient Japan the exchange of love letters was considered adultery. The Dankali in northern East Africa regarded an intimate conversation with the rival of the husband as an act of adultery.[4]

When caught red-handed, the malefactors may both be killed by the husband. Often the husband may deal more severely with the male transgressor than with his adulterous wife. In certain societies, as with some Mongolian peoples, the husband may be bound to kill his unfaithful wife.

Rank may have a bearing on the severity of the punishment. Sexual intercourse with a wife of the Inca is punished as lèse-majesté to be atoned for by tearing the body limb from limb.[5] Adultery with the wife of a king or chieftain is a crime of high order.[6] Sexual intercourse on the part of a servant or a slave with the wife or daughter of the lord of the house is likewise a capital crime.

Additional penal regulations concerning the crime of adultery may serve to illustrate the variety in punishment. On the Micronesian island of Nauru the adulterer, when caught in the act, might be killed; the adulterous woman was beaten. In the mountains of the Caucasus, illicit intercourse, as a rule, was punished by death.[7] In the Awarian district, a man, without being liable to sanction, may in the case of flagranti delicto not only kill his wife, but also other members of his kin, as his mother, his daughter, his sister, his granddaughter, his niece, his cousin, or aunt. He may slay both malefactors or only one. With a number of tribes, as with the Ingush and Tschetschens, it was the custom to cut off the nose of the adulterous woman. The same penalty for the same offense is inflicted by the Middle Assyrians, the Anglo-Saxons, the Potawotomi, the Omawhaw, the Blackfoot Indians and on Samoa, sometimes in connection with other punishment as cutting off the ears (Anglo-Saxons, Omawhaw, Samoans), the hair (Omawhaw, Blackfoot), putting to death (Blackfoot), inflicting wounds in the face (Samoans).[8]

In ancient Israel, the whole community concurred in destroying the malefactor. The first stone was thrown by the injured or by the head of the congregation. The ancient Arabs stoned an adulterous wife. If she admitted her guilt,

[1] See R. Thurnwald, *Die menschliche Gesellschaft*, vol. 2, *Werden, Wandel und Gestaltung von Familie, Verwandtschaft und Bünden*, pp. 71 ff. (Berlin und Leipzig, 1932); and vol. 5, *Werden, Wandel und Gestaltung des Rechtes*, pp. 97 ff. (1934), for extensive material.

[2] L. T. Hobhouse, *Morals in Evolution*, part I, 174 ff.

[3] Thurnwald, op. cit., vol. 5, 98 f. J. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsaltertümer*[4] 2. 349.

[4] Thurnwald, op. cit., vol. 2, 72.

[5] H. Trimborn, Straftat und Sühne in Alt-Peru, *ZfEthnol.* 57. 194 ff. (1925).

[6] P. Wintzer, Das Recht Altmexikos, *ZfvglRW* 45. 432 ff.

[7] A. Dirr, Aus dem Gewohnheitsrecht der kaukasischen Bergvölker, *ZfvglRW* 41. 1 ff., 70 ff., 77 ff. (1925).

[8] S. R. Steinmetz, *Ethnologische Studien zur ersten Entwicklung der Strafe*[2] 2. 284 ff. (1928).

then the Kadi would throw the first stone. If she proved to be guilty through the testimony of witnesses, one of these would throw the first stone.[9]

2. After having provided illustrative examples of the evaluation of the crime of adultery and of its punishment, I will briefly discuss the attitude towards this crime in Germanic and Near Eastern laws with the intention of demonstrating that a specific rule of the Burgundian and Visigothic laws is taken over from the ancient Near Eastern laws.

According to Germanic law, a husband has not to make amends for slaying his adulterous wife and the adulterer in case of handhaving deed. He may kill both culprits or only one of them; in both cases he is not liable to reprisal.[10] The right of retaliation emanates from different sources. By virtue of his mundium, the head of a family may inflict sanctions on his adulterous wife as well as on an adulterous daughter.[10] The husband, as the proprietor of the woman, has the right to avenge the wrongdoing of the adulterer by slaying him.

3. In contrast to this attitude, the Visigothic and Burgundian laws have the regulation that the husband will be free from reprisal only in case he kills both culprits.[11] Brunner is of the opinion that this rule, which is also found in the Greek-Roman law and in the Armenian law, is not Germanic.[12] According to Brunner-Schwerin, this rule of the Visigothic and Burgundian laws is probably taken over from the Roman vulgar law.[13]

4. In addtion to the sources quoted by Brunner, the rule that the husband has the right to put both culprits to death is also laid down in several ancient laws of the Near East, in the Code of Hammurabi, in Middle Assyrian laws and in the Hittite laws. The formulation differs in case the husband does not take such an action. In case only one malefactor is put to death, wergild has to be paid to atone for such an action according to the Burgundian and Visigothic laws.[11] The Hammurabi Code states that ' in case the husband will grant his wife her life, the king, too, will grant his subject (i. e. the adulterer) his life.'[14] The Middle Assyrian laws state as an alternative: the husband may allow his wife to go free; then the adulterer is not to be punished either. Or he may cut off his wife's nose; then the adulterer is to be made a eunuch and his face is to be mutilated.[15] The Hittite code also has the rule that the husband can grant his wife her life only if he acts likewise towards the adulterer.[16] This

[9] J. Kohler, reviewing R. Hirzel, *Die Strafe der Steinigung* in *ZfvglRW* 33. 287 ff. A bride who is found to be not a virgin and a betrothed maiden who did not cry for help (Deut. 22: 20-4) are to be stoned; in other cases the penalty of burning is inflicted (Gen. 38: 24; Lev. 21: 9; Judges 15: 6). See J. R. Reinhard, *Speculum* 16. 186 ff. (1941) for a comprehensive discussion of the penalty of burning in medieval law and literature.

[10] H. Brunner-Schwerin, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*[2] vol. 1, pp. 99 f., note 42 (Leipzig, 1906); vol. 2, 854 ff. (1928). Th. Melicher, Das Tötungsrecht des germanischen Hausherrn im spanischen, französischen und italienischen Recht, *ZfvglRW* 46. 329 ff. (1931). This Germanic regulation is preserved in East and West Germanic laws and continued to exist in the Spanish laws, from which it has been taken over into the Mexican law of 1929, so that this specific Germanic regulation survives in its ancient form in Mexico, but not in Europe.

[11] Lex Burg. (Gundobada) 68: Si adulterantes inventi fuerint, et vir ille occidetur et femina. Nam hoc observandum est: ut aut utrumque occidat aut si unum occiderit, pretium ipsius solvat, sub ea traditione pretii, quae est prioribus legibus constituta.

[12] Brunner-Schwerin, op. cit., 100, note 42.

[13] Brunner-Schwerin, op. cit., vol. 2, 854.

[14] The Code of Hammurabi, translated by D. D. Luckenbill and Edward Chiera in J. M. Powis Smith, *The Origin and History of Hebrew Law*, p. 199, § 129 (Chicago, 1931): ' If the wife of a man [*Bürger*, Eilers] be taken in lying with another man, they shall bind them and throw them into the water. If the husband of the woman spare the life of his wife, the king shall spare the life of his servant (i. e. subject). See also W. Eilers, Die Gesetzesstele Chammurabis in *Der Alte Orient*, vol. 31, pp. 33 ff. (Leipzig, 1932).

[15] G. R. Driver and J. C. Miles, *The Assyrian Laws*, p. 389 (Oxford, 1935): Middle Assyrian Laws, Tablet A, § 15. ' If a man has taken a man with his wife (and) charge (and) proof have been brought against him, both of them shall surely be put to death; there is no liability therefor. If he has taken and brought (him) either before a king or before judges (and) charge (and) proof have been brought against him, if the woman's husband puts his wife to death, then he shall put the man to death; (but) if he has cut off his wife's nose, he shall make the man a eunuch and the whole of his face shall be mutilated. Or, if he has allowed his wife to go free, the man shall be allowed to go free.'

[16] F. Hrozný, *Code Hittite*, § 197 (Paris, 1922): ' Si un homme (nom.) une femme dans les monts saisit, (c'est) un crime de l'homme et il meurt. Mais si dans la maison il (la) saisit, (de même) la femme meurt. Si l'homme (de la femme) les trouve, il les (peut) t(u)e(r); de punition pour lui il n'y a pas.'

§ 198: ' Si à la porte du pal(a)is il les amène et dit: " Que mon épouse ne meure pas! " e(t) il fait vivre son

rule is only valid in case he find them in flagranti delicto within the house. The woman does not share any responsibility in case a 'man seizes her in the mountains.' Under these circumstances it is the man's crime; he has to die for it.

A kind of parallel (to the Hittite rule) in alloting the guilt is recorded in Deuteronomy.[17] Here the distinction between the city and the field determines the crime of the woman. The rule does not refer to any woman, but only to a betrothed virgin.[17] In such a specific case a severe sanction was easily inflicted.

The one rule common to all these laws, whether they be Babylonian, Assyrian, Hittite, or Visigothic and Burgundian, is that both malefactors, adulterer as well as adultress, when caught red-handed, may be killed by the husband without being liable to reprisal.

The rule that the same punishment is to be inflicted 'for the same offence for all persons equally guilty,' as Driver and Miles formulate it,[18] seems to have originated in the authority of the king (in the code of Hammurabi, in the Hittite and Assyrian laws) or in that of the judge (in the Assyrian laws).[19]

The regulation that the adulterer is not to be punished in case the wife is not punished leads to the conclusion that the husband was inclined to be lenient towards his adulterous wife, but not to the adulterer.

In determining the guilt of the woman, her will is taken into account, in case she has an opportunity to make it clear. She is not guilty if the place where the action was perpetrated made an expression of her unwillingness impossible (according to the Hittite and Hebrew laws). The Hittite code refers to a married wife, the Hebrew code to a betrothed virgin. According to the Hebrew code, only a betrothed maiden who, being ravished, did not cry for help, and a wife whose intercourse with a man before her marriage becomes apparent to her husband, are stoned to death (Deut. 22: 13-24). The seducer of a virgin that is not betrothed has to pay 'a dowry [or 'price for her,' Heb. *yimhārennāh*] and take her as his wife; but, if her father refuses to give her to him, he has to pay money according to the dowry' [or 'price of virgins,' Heb. *mōhar habbe-ṯûlōṯ*].[20] If the malefactor is married, the father of the seduced girl, according to the Assyrian laws, may take his wife, and 'give her to be dishonored.'[21]

This price which is fixed at fifty shekels in Deuteronomy seems to be based on a kind of 'tariff price for various purposes.' This value of a girl, arrived at by some customary manner or by a provision of the law, determined the amount the seducer of a girl had to pay to her father. Such a method for estimating the compensation to be paid by the ravisher of a betrothed orphan is clearly set forth in the Mishnah (*Keṯ.* iii 7): 'To determine her deterioration in value she is appraised as if she were a bondwoman about to be sold, and thus it is ascertained what was her value before the rape and what it is after it.'[22]

The Nuzi laws bear testimony to such a tariff price for a girl. It may function as a marriage price; in certain cases it is quite clearly a market price. 'The average sum paid for a normal, able-bodied girl is forty shekels of silver, whether the girl be acquired as wife . . . or as handmaid . . . Both the maximum of forty-five as well as the minimum of twenty are paid for girls destined to

épouse, de même l'homme adultère il fait v(i)vre; en ce cas sa tête il marque. S'il (d)it: "Que les deux meurent!" alors punition ils reçoivent; le roi les tue et le roi les fait vivre.'

[17] Deut. 22: 23 ff. 'If a damsel that is a virgin be betrothed unto a husband, and a man find her in the city and lie with her; then ye shall bring them both out unto the gate of that city, and ye shall stone them with stones that they die; the damsel, because she cried not, being in the city . . . But if a man find a betrothed damsel in the field, and the man force her, and lie with her: then the man that lay with her, shall die: but unto the damsel thou shalt do nothing; there is in the damsel no sin worthy of death; . . . For he found her in the field, and the betrothed damsel cried, and there was none to save her.'

[18] Driver and Miles, op. cit., 368 ff.

[19] See notes 16 and 17.

[20] Exodus 22: 16-7, and also Deut. 22: 28-9.

[21] Driver and Miles, op. cit., p. 423: Tablet A, § 55. '[If a man] has taken by constraint and dishonored a man's [daughter] (who is) a virgin . . . the father of the virgin shall take the wife of the ravisher of the virgin (and) give her to be dishonored; he shall not give her (back) to her husband (but) shall take her. The father shall give his daughter who has been ravished as a spouse to her ravisher. If the ravished has no wife, he shall give "the third" (in) silver the price of a virgin to her father, (and) her ravisher shall marry her; he shall not turn her away. If the father does not please, he shall receive "the third" for the virgin (in) silver (and) give his daughter to whom he pleases.'

[22] Driver and Miles, op. cit. 62 ff., esp. 63.

be wives or slaves.'[23] A prostitute may bring the full price, forty shekels, from her future husband. A number of transactions are recorded in which a man, be it the father, a brother, or an adopted brother, hands over a girl for a sum of money (or livestock, grain, base metal or other movables) to another man who may marry her, give her to one of his slaves as wife or 'sell her at the gate and take the price paid.'[23]

These regulations and customs illustrate that the attitude towards a ravished girl in the ancient Near East was different from that expressed by the Germanic laws and usage.

5. In Germanic law (as well as in certain other Indo-Germanic laws[24]), the death penalty was originally inflicted on an adulterous wife, and also on a ravished girl. Such acts as adultery of a married woman, sexual intercourse of an unmarried girl (*fornicatio, adulterium*), and marriage of a free woman with an unfree man were considered as a disgrace to the kin, the 'friends' (West Norse *frændaskǫmm, ættarskǫmm*; *paternam domum maculare*). To avenge (*in eam dare vindictam,* Ed. Roth. 189; *ad ulciscendam humilitatem generis*) or to do away with (*schande aftoleggen*) such a disgrace, she was, in ancient times, put to death (burned, or forced to strangle herself and burned, according to Bonifatius [see Jaffé, *Bibl. rer. germ.* 3. 172], or whipped and pierced by knives until she died). The sanction was inflicted by her father, or, if he was dead, by her brother(s), or the father's brother(s) (Lex Visigothorum 3. 4, line 5). In case the husband of an adulteress did not punish her, her own kin would act.[25]

6. This rigid attitude towards the adulterous woman alone without reference to the fate of the adulterer does not find expression in the Burgundian-Visigothic regulation discussed above. In conformance with the tenor of several Near Eastern laws it states that the husband is liable to reprisal unless he kills the adulterer as well as the adulteress. The Roman vulgar law may be the immediate source of this regulation. Originally, it stems from the ancient law of the Near East, as codified in the laws of Hammurabi and the Assyrian laws. It is also recorded in the Hittite code. The specific formulation of the regulation found in these codes and also in the Burgundian and Visigothic laws is a particular development of the entire setup of the law concerning woman in the ancient Near East.

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[23] C. H. Gordon, The status of woman reflected in the Nuzi tablets, *ZA* 43. 146 ff. (1936).

[24] Schrader-Nehring, *Reall. d. idg. Altertumskunde*[2] vol. 1, 218 ff. (1917-23), and Jolly, Recht und Sitte, in *Grdr. d. indo-arischen Philol. u. Altertumskunde* (1896), 66. The Romans put her to death, (Cato ap. Gell. 10. 23: In adulterium uxorem tuam si prehendisses, sine iudicio impune necares: illa te, si adulterares sive tu adulterarere, digito non auderet contingere, neque jus est.) The ancient Indians inflicted on her the punishment of death, or the husband divorced her; they ejected her from the caste, cut off her hair and made her do slave work. With the Southern Slavs, the husband could kill the adulterous couple, if caught in the act. In Greece the injured husband might kill an adulterer caught in the act according to the Gortynian code and by Attic law; the adulterous wife might be inflicted with *atimia* 'disgrace,' which originally meant expulsion from the sib. Various disgraceful punishments were customary with other peoples: in Kyme in Asia Minor, the adulterous wife was led through the city sitting on an ass, or was put on a stone so that everyone could see the criminal. In Southern Russia, almost up to our days, the adulterous wife, together with a horse, was hitched to a cart and driven out of the village under constant whipping by the husband (*vyvodŭ*). One may compare with such a usage the passage of Tacitus (*Germania,* chapter 19: abscisis crinibus, nudatam, coram propinquis expellit domo maritus ac per omnem vicum verbere agit) or the letter of Boniface, or the regulation of the Frisian law, according to which the injured husband may publicly whip the adulterous wife.

[25] Karl von Amira, Die germanischen Todesstrafen: Untersuchungen zur Rechts- und Religionsgeschichte, *Abh. d. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.* (*Philos.-philol. und hist. Klasse*), 31. Bd., 3. Abhdl., p. 8 f. (München, 1922).

A Hurrian Goddess at Carthage?

Ever since, as a young student, this writer became acquainted with Robert Eisler's Weltmantel und Himmelszelt (2 vols., 1910) he has felt bound to respect and admiration for the astonishing learning and keen ingenuity of that scholar. However, as most of his critics have repeatedly pointed out, many of the far-reaching conclusions which Eisler draws from his tremendously wide information are based on scanty evidence and supported by all-too-bold combinations. A striking

example of the dangers involved in Eisler's method is offered by an article which, although it appeared some years ago, had escaped the attention of this writer until a very recent time.[1]

Certain Hittite texts studied by E. O. Forrer[2] mention a Hurrian goddess, Išḫara, whose name was also given to a mountain in Asia Minor, and in one of those texts she is said to be the cause of a disease, which is given the same name as the goddess herself, *išḫara*. According to Eisler, this very name must be recognized in the Greek word *ἐσχάρα* 'a hollow and round tumor' and in the Jewish (Hebrew and Aramaic) אַסְכָּרָא, which means both diphtheria and a female demon who was held responsible for that illness. Furthermore, in the well-known lead tablet from Carthage inscribed with a magic curse or *defixio*[3] the cryptic expression on line 1, רבת חות אלת מלכת שיסברא, should be translated: 'the lady Ḥebat (i. e. the Hurrian goddess Ḫepat), the goddess queen of Išḫara.' Finally, the 'disease of the goddess Išḫara' should be identified with the tumorlike skin disease widely spread throughout the Near East and North Africa and commonly known under the names of Aleppo, Biskra, or Sahara boil (or button), reference to which is also found in the Latin poet Martial (4. 43): 'iuro per Syrios tibi tumores.' Eisler assures us that Biskra and Sahara, far from being the well-known names of a town and oasis in Algeria and of the great desert in North Africa, are nothing else than slight alterations of the name of the Hurrian goddess from Asia Minor.

Perhaps the last assumption may be disposed of without discussion.[4] As far as *ἐσχάρα* 'tumor' is concerned, this writer, in spite of his scanty competence in Greek lexicography, dares to affirm that he sees no reason why it should not be the same word as *ἐσχάρα* 'hearth,' as has always been assumed,[5] and he would also surmise that the Hebrew-Aramaic term is a Greek loanword.

The Punic inscription, however, deserves close attention. Immediately after its discovery in 1899 it was the subject of learned comments by such outstanding scholars as Berger, Clermont-Ganneau, Halévy, G. A. Cooke, and Lidzbarski, and many a farfetched hypothesis was presented concerning its interpretation. In a short note published much later[6] this writer endeavored to improve on the suggestions of those scholars. Among other things[7] he called attention to the fact that in several Phoenician inscriptions the word מלכת is only a variant spelling of מלאכת (Hebrew מְלָאכָה) and means 'work,' not 'queen.'[8] The last but one letter in the passage under discussion was read ר by Lidzbarski, and Eisler accepts this reading without mentioning any other alternative. However, it certainly is ה, and therefore the word division should be שיסך הא, as was recognized by Clermont-Ganneau, although he failed to translate correctly the verb יסך. Since, in the following lines, the author of the inscription declares that he 'melts' (through a magic spell, of course) certain persons who had rejoiced because of his financial losses, 'as lead is melted,' the words on line 1 are the introduction to, or the title of the spell: 'Lady Ḥewwat,[9] the goddess: this is a work of melting.'

This is plain language. The Hurrian goddess Išḫara has no place in it.

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[1] Syrii tumores: die Krankheit der Göttin Išḫara, *Mélanges syriens offerts à Monsieur René Dussaud*, vol. 2, pp. 689-95 (Paris, 1939).

[2] Kilikien zur Zeit des Ḫattireiches, *Klio* 30. 184 (1937); cf. *ZDMG* 76. 245 (1922). See also A. Goetze, *Kizzuwatna and the Problem of Hittite Geography*, p. 61, note 223 (New Haven, 1940).

[3] *Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique*, nos. 18 and 1590; also in A. Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae*, p. 288-9 (Paris, 1904).

[4] Eisler obviously did not care to remember that those appellations, which were introduced by European travelers who wanted to point out the places where they had first noticed that kind of disease, are entirely unknown to the native languages, in which we would expect to find them if they actually were derived from the goddess' name.

[5] Needless to say, this is the same semantic shift which is present in the (Latin-) English medical term *focus*, a shift which must have taken place after the pattern of the Greek.

[6] *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, 14. 312-3 (1933).

[7] In addition to what is said there, due honor should be paid to H. Winckler, who surmised correctly (*OLZ*. 4. 357 [1901]) that the beginning of the last line should read ברחת, although the right meaning escaped him.

[8] See also Z. S. Harris, *A Grammar of the Phoenician Language*, pp. 114 and 118. By this assumption, a few passages receive a much better explanation than was given so far; among others, in *CIS*, I 198 the words נצב מלכת במצרם, translated 'praefectus regius in Aegypto' (see also M. Lidzbarski, *Altsemitsche Texte*, no. 77, note), should rather be 'superintendent (cf. Ruth 2: 5) of the work in Egypt.'

[9] A Mandaean female ghost of the netherworld bearing the same name has been pointed out by Eisler on p. 692.

The Ugaritic Text I AB, vi 18

The words *y t ' n k g m r m* describe the battle royal between Ba'al and Môt and stand parallel to such expressions as *yngḥn krumm* 'they gore like wild oxen,' *ynṯkn kbṯnm* 'they sting (bite) like asps,' and *ymṣḫn klsmm* 'they butt(?) like charging beasts.' It is obvious, therefore, that they must contain some further comparison of the two antagonists with animals.[1] Such a sense, however, cannot be elicited from the text as it stands. On the other hand, a glance at photograph and autograph at once suggests the true meaning. The *g* of *kgmrm* is in fact indistinct and might equally well be read as the very similar *z*. This would yield *kzmrm*, which could be explained immediately from the Hebrew *z ĕ m ĕ r* 'mountain-goat, antelope(?)' in Deut. 14:5. The verb *yt'n* will then be 3rd pl. masc. impf. energ. Gt of **n-w-'* = Heb. נוּעַ 'shake, toss,' and we should render:

They prance like mountain-goats/antelopes.

In support of this suggestion it may be noted that Hebrew *z ĕ m ĕ r* derives from a root akin to Arabic زمر 'leap.' This would therefore accord very well with the proposed explanation of *yt'n*. It would also provide a good parallel to the subsequent *klsmm*, since the root *l-s-m* is, of course, the Akkadian *lasāmu* 'gallop.'

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[1] This consideration would seemingly invalidate Albright's suggestion (*BASOR* 46. 19. n. 15 [April, 1932]) that *gmr* should be combined with Arabic *ǧamrah* 'hot coal,' and *yt'n* with Ethiopic *we'ya* 'burn up, be consumed with fire.'

Altpersischer Wortschatz. By WALTHER HINZ. Pp. viii + 160. Leipzig: KOMMISIONSVERLAG F. A. BROCKHAUS, 1942. (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, XXVII. 1.)

This convenient volume, most copies of which were destroyed in the bombings of Leipzig, consists, after the preface and a list of abbreviations of journals, of six sections: (1) a list of the OP inscriptions, with brief description of each and a statement where the best text or edition is available (pages 1-10); (2) the transliteration of OP (11-13); (3) the cuneiform syllabary used in the OP inscriptions (14-16); (4) bibliography from 1911 to the time of publication (17-39); (5) the Wortschatz or lexicon itself (40-155); (6) a list of the OP words, alphabetized from the end.

As for the bibliography, it is to be remembered that the book appeared in 1942, and that since then there has been a fair amount of publication; of the articles that might have been included, I note the absence only of Buck, Lg. 3. 1-6 (1927), on DH, and of certain reviews. Hinz's aphabetizing, which shows also his transcription, is *ă b č d f g h ḫ ǐ k l m n p r s š š t ţ ŭ w y z ž*; my own practice, which conforms more nearly to general custom, uses *c x ç θ v j* for his *č ḫ š ţ w ž*. In quoting, I shall use his system, but my own in the attached remarks. He places in parentheses letters (*n*, *h*, an occasional *i*, rarely others) that represent sounds pronounced in OP but not represented in the script; in this I shall here follow his practice. Occasional difference between his identifying abbreviations for the inscriptions, and mine, will cause no confusion; in the rare instances of potential misunderstanding, both abbreviations will be given.

In the lexicon itself, Hinz arranges all words and forms in a strictly alphabetical order, which has the inconvenience that forms of the same verb occur in several places: thus from *kar-* 'do, make,' we find those forms beginning with *akar-* on page 48, then after an intervening word those with *aku-* on 48-50, those with *ča-* on 74, one with *kar-* on 100, those with *krt-* on 102, those with *kun-* on 103. Forms of verbs that have compounds, like *bar-* 'bear,' show even greater separation. But if the user is not concerned with the relation of forms, he finds the word identified grammatically, translated into German, and accompanied by useful information on proper names and on dubious words, and a list of the occurrences. Since the publication of Tolman's Ancient Persian Lexicon in 1908, there has been no other complete glossary except Sukumar Sen's in his Old Persian Inscriptions (Calcutta, 1941), and Sen's is quite unreliable, besides having all the disadvantages of Hinz's (see my review, Lg. 18. 154-156).

I now take up the items which seem to me to need remark, prefacing each word with the number of the page on which it occurs and following it with the place of its occurrence in the inscriptions if desirable; at the end of what is quoted from Hinz there is a colon, after which my own remarks are given. References without name of author are to my own articles.[1] 40 *abaran* XPh 17: miswriting for *abaraha* (Lg. 13. 298), and not the reverse; there is no instance of final *n* written in OP. Therefore *-ha* is correct in DNa 19-20, and *abara(n)* (not *abaran*, with written final *n*) should be restored in DSe 18. 41 *ābiš* DB 1. 86 nsf. 'Flussbett'; so Hinz with a question-mark: but see JAOS 62. 269-270. 43 *adāraya*: on *adāraiya* and similar orthographies, see JAOS 62. 271-272. 43 *adāriy* and similar passives: see Schaeder, Ungarische Jahrbücher 15. 560-563 (1936); they should be normalized *-iya*, as *-ya-* passives with active endings. 44 *āfuwāyā* DNb 38 nsf. 'Entscheidung' (so Hinz, dubiously): read rather *aruvāyā* inst. sg. 'with action,' cf. JNES 4. 44-52. 46 *ahaniy* subj. pres. 2d sg. 'du seiest': error for 1st sg. 'may I be.' 47 *āḫštā* DPe 23 adj. nsf. 'behütet, heil,' with reference to Hz. Apl 70 for reading: but Hz. takes as substantive 'Sicherheit.'

[1] In addition to the usual abbreviations for periodicals, I use also the following for certain scholars and their works:

Hz. = Ernst Herzfeld,
AMI = Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran.
ApI = Altpersische Inschriften.

Tm. = H. C. Tolman,
Lex. = Ancient Persian Lexicon and Texts.

Wb. = F. H. Weissbach,
KIA = Keilinschriften der Achämeniden.

I prefer the old interpretation *axšatā* adj. nsf. 'unharmed.'

50 *āmahama(n)tā* DB 4.92 pret. 3d pl. 'sie erlernten': a very dubious word, cf. another possibility JAOS 62.269. 52 *[an]iyaṭa* DSj 3, which Hinz accepts dubiously from my article JAOS 51.214-215, with same restoration independently by Wb. in a letter: I now prefer *[paruv]iyaθā*, as proposed by Brandenstein, WZKM 39.45 (1932). 54 *apariyāya(n)* DB 1.23 'sie wurden in Zucht gehalten': this is merely the doubly augmented preterit to 116 *pariyait(iy)* 'er achtet, hält (das Gesetz) ein, wandelt (im Gesetz),' cf. JAOS 35.331-336 (1917), Lg. 13.303 (1937; which Hinz cites!). 58 *artāčā* XPh 41 etc.: see now Lg. 21.223-229. 59 *asā sāruva* DSf 40-41 nsm. 'Blei,' after Hz. ApI 299: I have always insisted that the second word began with a trace of d^a, and now Hinz writes me that he accepts Duchesne-Guillemin's interpretation in BSOS 10.925-927 (1942) as *asā dāruv* 'ebony' (lit. 'stone-wood'), to which view I also accede, withdrawing my previous opinion (JAOS 51.208, 53.18-19).

62 *aṭahawaža* Bh. 4.90 'Botschaft' (dubiously Hinz, after Morgenstierne, Acta Or. 1.252): cf. JAOS 62.268. 63 *aurā* DPe 24 adv. 'hernieder, herab,' after Benveniste, BSLP 30.72-73: I still prefer the old interpretation *A(h)urā* 'by Ahura,' despite the lack of the second part of the divine name. 63 *A(h)urahya : Mazdāha* XPc 10: the original stone lacks the divider between the words (so Cameron, from the photographs). 64 *A(h)uramazd[aiya]* DB 4.44 adj. nsm. 'als Ahuramazda-Bekenner,' after Wb. KIA 62-63: the following *]rtaiyaiy* seems not to be in Hinz's lexicon. I still prefer *Auramazd[ām : upava]rtaiyaiy*, cf. JAOS 62.275, 63.67-68. 65 *awā* DB 5.15, 31°. DNa 39 pron. dem. npm. 'jene,' *[awā]* DB 5.22° apm. 'jene': except the first character in DB 5.15, the examples in DB are entirely restorations, and should be *avaiy* for both cases; cf. forms cited on 66 by Hinz. In DNa 39 the word is fem. and not masc. 68 *awaṭāšatā* DB 4.72: on this dubious word, cf. JAOS 62.272-273. 68 *awažan* DB 2.13 'sie erschlugen': error for *-ana(n)*.

73 *brazmaniya* XPh 41, 51, 54 'mit Inbrunst, durch Andacht' (dubiously Hinz): cf. Lg. 21.223-229. 73 *BU* (= *būmīy*) nsf. 'die Erde': may have been *būmīš*, as the form is nowhere written in full. 74 *ci[nā]* DSe 36 adv. 'sondern, vielmehr' (my restoration, JAOS 58.116-117, but Hinz's interpretation, ZDMG 85.228): rather a merely emphatic particle, for OP nowhere expresses the adversative 'but' in the extant texts, though there is ample opportunity. 77 *dahyuwā* DB 1.34 'im Lande': rather *dahyauvā*, cf. loc. *gāθavā* and (without postposition) *Bābirauv Margauv*. 79 *[Dātuwa]hyahyā* DB 4.85 is given as based on Wb. KIA 71: Wb. 70-71 has *[Dātu]-* in his text and an alternative suggestion *[Daduṷa]-* in his note and translation; any restoration is based on the Elam. and Akk. transliterations.

81 *duwitāparnam* DB 1.10 adv. 'in zwei (Geschlechter-)Folgen, zwiefältig': I prefer 'one after the other, in succession,' cf. Bartholomae apud Tolman, Lex. 102. 83 *frašta* nsm. 'auserkoren': in both passages I agree with Hz. AMI 3.9-10, ApI 156-158, that the text is really *frašam*, and that the word is followed by 3d pers. *θadayātaiy*. 85 *gāṭwā* abl. sg. m. 'vom Throne (weg)': interpretation correct, but form really loc. *gāθavā*, functioning as abl.; cf. *hacā [: Bāb]irauv* DSf 33, *hacā : Hi(n)dauw* DSf 44.

93 *ḫšapawā* DB 1.20 asf. + *wā* 'sowohl des Nachts': but the acc. would be *xšapam-vā* (cf. retention of final *m* before consonant of enclitic in *gaiθām-cā māniyam-cā* DB 1.65), and we have here the gen. $xšapa^h$ in a rhyming pair with $rauca^h$ 'by day' in *rauca-pati-vā*, both cases denoting time. 98 *isuwām* DNd 2 'Bogenscheide, Bogenhülle,' Hinz doubtfully: the word, though not of known etymology, must mean 'battle-ax,' cf. JNES 4.233. 98 *kā* pron. nsm. always after *tuvam* 'du,' so 'du, wer [du auch seiest]': probably rather an instrumental adverb from the same stem, generalizing the preceding pronoun (Kern apud Caland, z. Syntax der Pron. im Av. 47).

104 *mā . . . ma [. . . mā]* DPd 18-19: should be 19-20, and only a part of the m^a is lost. 107 *māniyamčā* DB 1.65 asn. coll. 'und die Gehöfte,' cf. the following word 148 *wiṭabiščā* inst. (= acc.) pl. m. 'und die Hofhörigen, Hintersassen': I read rather *viθbiš-cā*, inst. as acc. (like Hinz), and translate 'the household property and the houses' in chiastic order to the preceding, *abicāriš: gaiθāmcā* 'the pastures and the herds' (so Hinz: 'Weideland und das Herdenvieh'). 107 *Mārgauw* DB 4.25, DBj 1 'in Margiana': should be *Margauv*. 107 *[Margažanahya]* DB 3.88: depends on the Elamite and traces of the first and third characters in Rawlinson's squeezes, which would warrant also *Varkazanahya* 'Month of the Wolf-men.'

110 *[maṭi]št[amšām]* DB 5.27: read rather *[maθ]išta[šam]*, as nom. *S[ku(n)]xa* immediately follows; cf. JNES 2.113. 110 *m[rtahyā]* DB 5.36, after Wb. ZfA 46.56: text certainly correct, but Wb.'s interpretation, 'of him dead,' is right, and Hinz's 'im Tode,' loc. sg. n., is wrong. 112 *nāma* nsm. and nsn., *nāmā* nsf. 'namens, mit Namen': rather *nāma* loc. sg. suffixless = *nāma(n)*, and *nāmā* acc. = Skt. *nāma*, both denoting specification, and specialized for use with following class nouns in the genders indicated by Hinz. 112 *[nāwā]* DSz. c 11 nom. pl. 'Schiffe,' after Wb. KIA 104: rather *nāva*, with Tolman, Lex. 52, = Skt. *nâvas*. 114 *pa[(n)čamān]* DB 5.3: read rather *ç[itām]*, JNES 2.109-110. 115 *parauwa(?)ya* DPe 15: delete, as the stone has *para : draya*, cf. Cameron, JNES 2.307-308. 119 *[ā] : pasā* DSe 48: read rather *ā : pasā[va]*.

122 *[pir]uwa* DSf 51, with König, Burgbau 66-68: rather *[išmar]uv* from Elam. *is-ma-lu*, with Hz. AMI 3.74-75. 124 *sā...da...* DB 4.54: Tm.'s emendation and restoration, Lex. 26, *kā[rahyā : θ]ā[hy ...]* is quite satisfactory. 124 *saiymam* A¹I (Hinz's Art. I Silb.) adj. nsm. 'silbern': a dubious word in a dubious inscription. 127 *stūnāya* adj. asm. 'säulern, Säulen-': dubious form, perhaps a defectively written loc. in *-āyā*, denoting specification. 128 *šiyāta*: out of alphabetic order. 128 *škauṯim* DB 4.65: according to King and Thompson, actually *šᵃkᵃurᵃimᵃ*, but of course identical with *skauṯim* DSe 39-40 (page 125).

133 *tyanā* DB 1.23, DSf 42, pron. rel. isf.: rel. in DSf 42, but def. art. in DB 1.23, cf. Hinz 54 s.v. *apariyāya(n)*. 133 *ṯadayāmaiy*: see above on 83 *frašta*. 134 *tarmiš*: misprint for *ṯarmiš*. 136 *[(h)u]čašma* asn. 'das Auge': the *u-* is an erroneous insertion acc. to Benveniste, TPS 1945. 53-54, quoting Jackson, IF 25.182; because of final *-ă*, which is impossible as a writing for nom.-acc. of *-man-* stem, normalize *cašam* to stem *caša-* (Lg. 19.225-226). 136 *(h)ufraštādiy* DB 4.69, with *-diy* as enclitic pronoun after Benveniste, BSLP 31.64: rather *-diy* = Av. *zī*, Skt. *hi*, JAOS 35.351-352 (1917; so also Morgenstierne, Acta Or. 1.248-253 [1923]). 137 *Upadramahyā* DB 1.74 gsm.: whether *-dram-* or *-darm-* depends on whether we restore Elam. *tir* or *tar* at the critical point, and in the absence of evidence I prefer *Upadarmahyā*, which is easily etymologized. 137 *upariy[āyam]* DB 4.64-65, with Wb.: I prefer the *upariya[xšaya]iy* of Tm., Lex. 85, based on Jackson's examination of the Rock. 138 *ušiyā · gā[ṯa]wā* DNb 35 lsm. 'in der Urteils-Stätte': rather 'with understanding in the place (of battle),' cf. JNES 4.47-50. 139 *uta* 'and,' cited from XPh 24, 35, 38, and A²Sd 4: the first three passages have *utā*, and the fourth is before a break, other copies of the same inscription showing *utamaiy* and *utamay* (cited by Hinz under *utamaiy*).

141 *(H)uwārazmiya* nsf. 'Chorasmien,' given as alternative to *(H)uvārazmiš*, each occurring twice: but perhaps the prior is the older form in *-ī*, *(H)uvārazmīy*, cf. Lg. 19.223. 142 *[(h)uz]bānam* DB 2.74 asm. 'die Zunge,' with Wb. and Tm., for King and Thompson's *harbānam*: rather *h(i)zbānam* with Meillet, MSLP 19.58-59, cited by Hinz; cf. Lg. 19.226. 144 *wašabara* DNd 1 nsm. 'Streitaxtträger' (dubiously Hinz): see now JNES 4.233, where the meaning 'bowbearer' is proved. 149 *wiya: mrda* DB 5.11 'er vernichtete' with wrongly inserted divider, as emended by Wb. ZfA 46.55 for *daiy : mrda*: this I accept, withdrawing my own interpretation JAOS 62.273.

150 *yadimaniyāiy* XPh 47 = *yadiy* + subj. pres. med. 1st sg. 'wenn du erwägest, denkst': 1st sg. is misprint for 2d sg., as his translation shows. 151 *yanaiy* XV 22 adv. 'darauf' (räumlich), so Kent Lg. 9.96: I did not give the meaning 'darauf,' which is demonstrative, but gave the relative 'whereon.' I now normalize *yaniy*, as equivalent of Av. *yahmi*, Skt. *yasmin*, with *-n-*, extended from the instr. form. 154 *žīwahyā* DB 5.19-20, 35 lsn. 'im Leben': not neuter, but masc., 'of him living,' cf. on 110 *m[rtahyā]*.

Many of the variations which I have suggested from Hinz's views are of course personal views, and not necessarily correct. Proof of this is seen that in a number of instances I have departed from my own previously expressed views as given in printed articles. But it is only by the free discussion of such differences of opinion that final agreement on moot points may be reached, and thereby advances in scholarship may be made.

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The Excavations at Dura-Europos, conducted by Yale University and the French Academy of Inscriptions and Letters. Final Report IV. Edited by M. I. Rostovtzeff, A. R. Bellinger, F. E. Brown, N. P. Toll, and C. B. Welles. Part III. The Lamps, by P. V. C. Baur. Pp. viii + 84, 16 plates, 38 text illustrations. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1947. $4.00.

This publication of the lamps from Dura-Europos appears as the third fascicule in the series of final reports on the excavations conducted by Yale University and the French Academy of Inscriptions and Letters. A total of 459 lamps are described. Of these 308 are now at Yale, the rest in the Damascus Museum, or in store rooms at the site of the excavations. Among the lamps 33 are of bronze, three of iron, and two of stone, the others of terracotta.

The volume contains a brief introductory chapter containing general observations on the present whereabouts of the lamps, the method of presentation, the manufacture and use of ancient lamps, and a chronological frame-work of the lamps from the Dura-Europos excavations.

The bronze lamps, all of which appear to be importations from the west, are not divided into types. In view of the comparatively small number of clay lamps, which on the whole are rather poor and unattractive specimens, it is rather remarkable that so many fine bronze lamps have been found. Two of them in the shape of a negro's head are excellent examples of decorative bronze household gear. The author dates these and three imported Roman clay lamps in the second century, in the course of which the city was twice—under Trajan and Marcus Aurelius—in the hands of the Romans.

The Catalogue of the terracotta lamps gives a description with the measurements of each lamp. They are arranged as nearly as possible in chronological order, and the terracotta lamps are divided into eleven types. A general discussion precedes the catalogue description in each chapter. The earliest lamps from Dura-Europos date from the founding of the city about 300 B. C. It is significant that two of these are obvious importations from Attica. There is a gap of about a century between those early lamps and the next two types which begin to appear in the first half of the second century B. C. These are moulded lamps, related to the Corinth types XVIII and XIX, with decorations in relief on the shoulders and most frequently with a rosette on the reverse. Type IV, which has a flat top often with decorations in relief, is certainly of local manufacture, as is shown by the discovery of moulds and by the color of the clay. It dates from the second and third centuries A. D. Types V and VI, consisting of flat, circular lamps mostly without handle, were also produced locally. A particularly important discovery is that of a matrix for a lamp of type VI and one lamp made in a mould produced from the same matrix.

Contemporary with these mould-made lamps is a distinct type, VIII, made on the wheel with a raised collar around the open top, a large clumsy nozzle, a small knob-handle at the back and two, or sometimes four, knobs on the side. This is called 'Mesopotamian type' which in Seleucia begins in the second century B. C. but at Dura-Europos about a century later. It seems to have been most common in the second century A. D. Some of the lamps of this type are covered with a green glaze, the others are unglazed. A few lamps are dated after the destruction of the city in 256 A. D., when the site seems to have been inhabited by squatters. There are a few fragments of suspension lamps and four lanterns of terracotta.

The catalogue is followed by a brief discussion in which the author sets forth his conclusions regarding the origin of the types, their relation to the lamp industry of other cities, and the light they throw on the history of the city. As museum pieces the lamps of Dura-Europos, with the exception of the bronze lamps, are unimportant, but they tell their story more clearly perhaps than any other class of household articles from the excavations. The author's clear and full description makes the lamps readily available to the historian whose task will begin when all the material from the excavations has been published. The book will also serve as a welcome addition to the growing library of lychnological literature, and as such will cast its own light in places badly in need of illumination.

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Az-Zarnūjī, *Ta'līm al-Muta'allim—Ṭarīq at-Ta'allum. Instruction of the student: the method of learning.* Translated, with an introduction, by G. E. von Grunebaum and Theodora M. Abel. New York: King's Crown Press, 1947. Pp. v + 78. $2.00. [Published under the auspices of the Iranian Institute and School of Asiatic Studies.]

The authors of this little book—the latter is an expert on psychology, and the former needs no introduction to the readers of the Journal—are deeply convinced that 'only through collaboration of specialists . . . the more remote aspects of an alien civilization *can* be properly explored' and that 'only such collaboration *is* likely ever to make the Western social or natural scientist aware of the inspiration to be gained by him from the treatment of his field in a civilization not his own.' This is very true, and no orientalist conscious of the significance of his field for a comprehensive understanding of world civilization would fail to endorse this statement. However, one may have some doubts whether a substantial help towards the attainment of that goal is to be expected from the publication of az-Zarnūjī's tract in an English translation. In all fairness it must be said that, attractive as its reading is because of the pointed sayings, witty anecdotes, and well-polished lines of poetry with which its author interspersed it, its content is rather dull, and its value as an intellectual achievement almost nil. Should az-Zarnūjī be considered as a genuine representative of Moslem theories on education at their best, their value would appear lamentably low to any unbiased reader. As a matter of fact, he only represents Islamic education as it had become standardized among students of religious law after their vital energy and creative power had been cut off or had withered, as a result of an unfortunate split between religious and worldly science. It may be interesting to learn from az-Zarnūjī that a good student has always to carry an inkstand and a pen with him in order to be ready to jot down any bit of learning which he may happen to grasp; or that he has to show the greatest respect to his teacher, to the point of rising in the presence of the latter's children: nothing, however, is to be gained from these and similar trifling details for a deeper knowledge of the attitude of Moslem thought in regard to the main issue of education. This issue was thoroughly discussed during the golden age of Islamic culture: ultimately, it is the same as that which confronted Greek philosophy, namely, whether the human mind can be taught from the outside, or whether it acquires further knowledge only by developing certain faculties already extant in its nature. Another basic problem, resulting from the conflict between religious and worldly science, is whether education should be confined to the study of religion or extend to the whole range of human knowledge; and many enlightened minds in the Islamic world were thoroughly aware of the significance of this issue. Az-Zarnūjī, however, takes for granted that the only knowledge worth acquiring is the knowledge of religion, and since theology seems to interest him to a very low degree, his only concern is the study of the *sharī'a*, or religious law. His booklet, therefore, is nothing more nor less than a guide, or rather an exhortation addressed to the prospective student of law. The reason for its unparalleled popularity should be found precisely in the lack of interest in anything not connected with the study of law which marks the decline of scientific and philosophical thinking in Medieval Islam. To be sure, escape from the dryness of *fiqh* was offered by and found in Sūfism, and this, too, developed an educational system of its own; however, whatever a religious genius like al-Ghazzālī may have thought of its importance, Sūfism could not appeal to a man like az-Zarnūjī, whose limitations were as great as his candor and piety.

From what is said on the first page of the Introduction, uninitiated readers might receive the impression that educationists unfamiliar with Arabic never had a chance to become acquainted with the contents of Ta'līm al-Muta'allim before Professor Grunebaum's and Miss Abel's translation. The opposite is true. Under the title Semita Sapientiae Sive Ad Scientias Comparandas Methodus, a Latin translation of it appeared in Paris as early as 1646, for which the well-known Maronite, Abraham Ecchellensis (al-Ḥāqilānī), was responsible. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, another Maronite, Joseph Banesis,[1]

[1] I. e. al-Bānī, from the village al-Bān in the Lebanon. Yūsuf al-Bānī was active over a number of years in Rome, where a Maronite college had been established by Pope Gregory XIII in 1584.

assisted the Danish scholar and bibliophile Frederic Rostgaard [2] in preparing an edition of the text and a new translation: both were edited, with some additional notes, by Adrian Reeland (Relandus) [3] under the title Enchiridion Studiosi (Utrecht, 1709) followed by a reprint of Ecchellensis' translation. Although our two contemporary scholars are right in their claim that their translation is 'the first into a modern Western language,' they might have called attention to the meritorious, although obviously obsolete labors of their predecessors, as well as to the fact that the Leipzig edition of 1838, which they mention only under the publisher's name, is a juvenile essay by Karl Caspari, later to become famous as the author of a standard Arabic grammar. Caspari not only reedited the text of the Ta'līm from a number of manuscripts but also retranslated it, in Latin of course; but after all, at his time and a couple of generations later, Latin was a less esoteric language, even in this country, than it seems to be nowadays. Had they cared to, educationists could have used az-Zarnūjī as a source for their information about Islamic education with no difficulty whatsoever. Whether they actually did so, this reviewer, whose ignorance on educational matters is beyond imagination, is in no position to affirm or deny: as a matter of fact, az-Zarnūjī, more than a century ago, was honored with a place in general biography. The Biographie universelle enters him under the spelling Zarnouchi and the article concerning him was written by none other than the greatest of all past and present Arabists, de Sacy. Apparently, he did not think very highly of the merits of the Ta'līm since he labels it as 'assez peu important en lui-même.'

Ecchellensis' translation and the text and translation in the Utrecht printing are what one would expect them to be considering the level of Arabic studies at their time. On the other hand, Caspari's work, which was revised by Fleischer, retains much of its value even now. Caspari was unable to identify, or even to spell correctly a number of proper names, chiefly of shaykhs of the Ḥanafiyya school to which az-Zarnūjī belonged, because biographic sources were inadequately known in 1838. Most of his errors have been corrected in the footnotes of the English translation (one wonders why the right spellings were not restored in the text itself) and short biographic data and bibliographical references have been added: no doubt, this industrious and accurate revision and implementation is due to Grunebaum's complete mastery of the tools of his trade.

The translation reads smoothly. However, one wonders why square brackets were used so lavishly. No doubt, interpretative additions should be signalized as such, but to stress all points in which Arabic idiom cannot be put into English without some changes in the diction seems to the reviewer an excess of zeal, and certainly is an unnecessary encumbrance to the general reader. On the other hand, one is unpleasantly surprised in finding a considerable number of misunderstandings and mistranslations. Strangely enough, almost all passages erroneously rendered in English are correctly translated in Caspari's awkward, although grammatically flawless Latin. It would be too long to list all passages in which the reviewer is in complete disagreement with the translators; a few examples taken at random may suffice.[4]

P. 24: 'As for commentary on matters of learning it is a [secondary] means through which the nature of a propounded subject may become clear.' The meaning of *tafsīr* 'science' is: a quality by which an utterance becomes clear to him in whom that quality resides. P. 25: 'Both [these types of men] are a great trial everywhere to him who clings to both [knowledge and godliness] in his religion': . . . to him who has to deal with them [i. e. the two types of men mentioned above] in matters pertaining to religion. On p. 29 the fact was overlooked that, due to an interpolated passage, the story of the 'sage from Samarqand' was split in two. The man who consulted the sage had already decided (*kāna 'azama*) to take a

[2] 1671-1745: his biography in Michaud's *Biographie universelle ancienne et moderne* vol. 36 p. 542-3 presents a better, although shorter account of Rostgaard's scholarly achievements than the article in the *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon*, vol. 20 (1941) pp. 189-93.

[3] The prominent Dutch classical and oriental scholar (1676-1718) who was the first to present the Christian world with an unbiased and objective account of the religious tenets of Islam (*De Religione Mohammedanica*, Utrecht, 1705) and to realize the importance of archaeology for the study of the Bible (*Palaestina ex monumentis veteribus illustrata*, Utrecht, 1714).

[4] On pp. 24 and 30, because of the misplacing of indentation or quotation marks, the sayings of Abū Ḥanīfa and 'the sage of Samarqand' appear to be longer than they actually are: the former ends after 'forever' and the latter after 'attained.'

journey to Bukhara, and did not make his decision 'after' consultation, as the translation has it. On p. 30 the reading *qanāṭir* 'arched bridges' instead of *qanāṭīr* 'hundredweights' led to the queer statement that 'the treasure of benefits lies on arches of calamities.' P. 32—the two lines of poetry quoted are not *by* az-Zarnūjī; they were just recited *to* him (*unšidtu*). P. 40: 'Verily, he who makes plants grow does not cut up the ground nor does he neglect it entirely.' The meaning of this sentence is entirely different: he whose camel has broken down does not cut through the country nor does he save his camel's back (obviously, *munbatt* was misread as *munbit*). P. 44: 'How much fragrance does it exhale, but not perishable like musk! And how high does it soar, but not full of greed like the hawk!': how many a scent is perfumed, but none like musk, and how many a bird flies, but none like a hawk! (the meaning of this verse was missed by Caspari too). P. 50: 'A share in tribal [clan] holdings is not transmissible by will.' The cryptic sentence *sahm ad-dawr sāqiṭ* refers to one of those hair-splitting cases in the law of inheritance which stimulated the development of algebra among the Moslems. It may be translated, freely but not inadequately: a share which cannot be divided evenly must be reduced. On p. 80 of his edition Caspari has a pretty good note on that subject. P. 51: '. . . seeking the truth from man who is weak and has only his reasoning [for a tool]': seeking truth from something which is [not eternal like God but] created and deficient, namely from the intellect. P. 60: (in this page there are no less than four mistakes) *qālī* (at the end of a verse instead of *qālⁱⁿ*), meaning 'hater,' is translated 'prattle.' Should we assume that it was believed to be the noun *qāl* from the root *qwl*? P. 60: 'God . . . Who knows the number of all letters': [let the student utter a eulogy] according to the number of all letters (this meaning, which is the only one possible, is also given by Ibrāhīm ibn Ismāʿīl in his commentary, abstracts of which are printed at the bottom of the pages in Caspari's edition).[5]

Mistakes of the kind of those pointed out above (and of many more omitted for the sake of brevity) can be by no means blamed upon Grunebaum. This brilliant scholar, who knows how to master the most baffling intricacies of Arabic poetry better than most of his fellow students on both sides of the Ocean, would certainly not have fallen short in understanding correctly the rather pedestrian style of the good az-Zarnūjī and of his sources. It is hard to understand, indeed, why he lent the authority of his name to endorse a not very successful enterprise. After all, noblesse oblige.[6]

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[5] Brockelmann's reproach (*Supplement* 1, 837) that I mixed up Ibn Ismāʿīl's and Nevʿī's commentaries is due to his misunderstanding of a passage in my catalogue of the Vatican manuscripts (p. 279) where I simply stated that I was in no position to make out the authorship of an anonymous commentary found there.

[6] Among the things which should be avoided by the student because they weaken memory az-Zarnūjī lists (p. 69) '. . . reading the inscriptions on tombs.' Relandus, thorough classical scholar as he was, called attention to a striking parallel found in Cicero, *De Senectute* 7 § 21: '. . . nec sepulcra legere vereor, quod aiunt, ne memoriam perdam . . .' Do the Arab and the Roman superstitious beliefs go back to a common source, which obviously should be Greek? One would like to know.

Catalogue of the Egyptian sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery. By George Steindorff. Pp. vi + 187 + 119 plates. Baltimore, 1946.

The Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore has a fine, well-rounded collection of Egyptian sculpture, completely published for the first time in the present volume. The Gallery was very fortunate in securing the services of Dr. George Steindorff for compiling the catalogue. No other Egyptologist could have brought so many years of experience in the field to the task.

The author's Preface shows how little known the collection was: 'When in the Spring of 1937 I first visited the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore, I was amazed at the wealth of Egyptian antiquities exhibited in two of their galleries. Hardly any of the pieces shown there were known to the scholarly world, and yet this Egyptian collection deserves its place beside the other important ones in this country, such as those in New York, Brooklyn, Boston, Philadelphia, and Chicago' (p. iii). Less than 90 of the 745 pieces listed in the catalogue had been previously published. The

published items were to be found widely scattered in books and journals.

The catalogue proper is preceded by a brief but excellent Introduction, treating Egyptian artistic conventions and techniques. It includes an historical sketch of Egyptian art, and a chronology of Egyptian history is appended. Pieces in the Gallery's collection which illustrate the Introduction are referred to by their numbers in the catalogue. Addition of the plate number would have facilitated reference here, as the picture must be located by first looking it up in the catalogue.

The catalogue itself consists of 745 items, nearly all illustrated by the plates. The material, height, condition, inventory number, provenance, previous publication, description, quality and date are given in that order, more or less complete as the data permitted. The notes on quality are not regularly given but are very valuable as the comments of the author. These include doubts as to authenticity where justified. The order of the catalogue is: Archaic Figurines (1-16). Statues and Statuettes of Individuals (17-235), arranged chronologically with those of uncertain date appended. The Middle Kingdom is better represented here than in any other part of the collection (30-99). Reliefs (236-278), dated as follows: Old Kingdom (262-264), New Kingdom (236-252, 265-272, 277-278), Late Period (253, 254, 260, 261, 273-276), Ptolemaic (255-259). Funerary Stelae (279-289), dated as follows: First Intermediate Period (279, 280), New Kingdom (281-284), Late Period (285, 287, 289), Ptolemaic (286), doubtful authenticity (288). Offering Tables (290-292), dated New Kingdom (290), Late Period (291, 292). Meroitic Relief (293). Sculptors' Models (294-360), 'one of the most extensive and diversified collections of such models' (p. 7), all of the Late Period. Statues and Statuettes of Deities (361-634), arranged according to the deity represented (The Family of Osiris, The Triad of Thebes, The Gods of Memphis, Other Gods in Human Form, Unidentified Human-headed Goddesses, Animal-headed Deities, Grotesque Deities). There is a general introduction to this part and short introductions in each subdivision. The dates in this part vary and are often not given. Sacred Animals (635-706), again with short introductions to the various types. Profane Animals (707-711). Demons of Hybrid Type (712-716). Funerary Statuettes (717-733). Stelae with Horus on Crocodiles (734-744). Appendix (745). A cursory examination of this list shows how well the different periods of Egyptian history are represented by the Gallery's collection.

Translations of nearly all inscriptions are given. For the copies of Horus on the Crocodiles a translation of the Metternich Stela and a composite translation of two of the Gallery's collection form part of the introduction to this section. The inscriptions on the individual pieces are described in relation to these where possible. The Shawabti formula is given in the introduction to the Funerary Statuettes, which are similarly treated.

A glossary of terms frequently used in the discussions is appended and every effort made throughout the catalogue to make the descriptions understandable to the general reader. The whole is indexed (by Deities, Persons, Places, Titles and Occupations). The plates are good, clear reproductions of the objects, and ten plates of autograph texts (CX-CXIX) give all inscriptions translated in the text which are not clearly to be read on the plates. The Walters Art Gallery and Dr. Steindorff are both to be congratulated on this fine addition to the literature of Egyptian culture and art.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE.